

THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY



VOL. II No. I

OCTOBER 1973

THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

Published by Yayasan Proklamasi, CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC
AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, Jakarta

Director	Sumiskum
Editors	O. Soetomo Roesnadi, Barlianta Harahap

A periodical on contemporary life in Indonesia, dedicated to promote greater understanding of the Indonesian current situation and problems through articles which include documentation, information, studies and evaluations

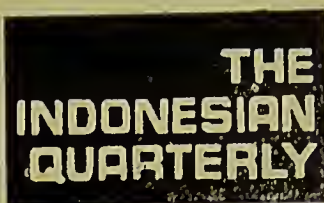
Subscription Office:

CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES,
Jalan Kesehatan 3/13, Jakarta, Indonesia. Phone 49489

From December 1973: Jalan Tanah Abang 3/27, Jakarta, Indonesia.
Phone 56529 — 56429

Subscription rate per year by ordinary mail, US\$ 7.50, for students US\$ 5.00. Individual copies US\$ 2.00. Additional postage by air mail: for ASEAN Countries US\$ 1.50; Japan and Europe US\$ 2.00; Australia, New Zealand and Middle East US\$ 2.50; Africa, North and South America US\$ 3.00

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FROM THE EDITOR

Starting with this Volume II No. 1, the familiar Kris will disappear from our front cover, to be replaced by a Rencong. A Rencong is an Acehese traditional dagger which has a similar significance to the Kris of the Javanese. It is the intention of the publisher to depict the traditional Indonesian weapon of different regions on the front cover of each new volume. This policy of featuring weaponry should not, however, be misinterpreted as latent encouragement of violence by the journal. Rather the editors believe that readers, particularly those from abroad, should be exposed to the richness of Indonesian traditional weapon systems, which being tightly interwoven in the culture, are more defensive in their nature and essentially ornamental in function.

The present issue places heavy emphasis on Indonesian culture, art, linguistics, and customary laws. With the heavy influx of foreign cultures into the country, Indonesians are aware that their rich culture and tradition should be preserved. With the assistance of modern research methods, many Indonesian scholars are now undertaking research into many facets of culture, art, and linguistics. These scholars feel that many aspects of these traditional cultures can contribute significantly to the modernization process of Indonesia.

Mr. Boechari has contributed *Some Aspects of Traditional Society, with special reference to Indonesia*. The *Inner Life of the Javanese* presented by Mr. Moh. Said Reksohadiprodjo is a study on the special characteristics of the Javanese. The peaceful penetration of foreign cultures into Java for many centuries had indeed exerted a particular impact on the Javanese way of life, it has not, however, destroyed their basic characteristics. Mrs. T.O. Ikhromi presents an article on *The Relevance of Studying Ethnic Groupings in Indonesia* and in this way invites the reader to study the pluralistic nature of the Indonesian society. For those who are interested in Javanese mysticism, Mr. Bonokamsi deals with the *Kebatinan* and *Kebatinan Movements* for the Javanese. Although there appears to be a gradual disappearance of the old customary laws from many ADAT regions of the country, Mr. Soeriono Soekanto holds the view that many aspects of the adat laws can actually still contribute to legal developments in the country. His research on the *Elites of Adat Villages in Lampung and Minangkabau* will shed light on many aspects of the customary laws in these regions. One of the forgotten folklores in Indonesia is the *Pantun Sunda* of West Java. *Pantun Sunda* is a method of story telling usually chanted during the harvest season. Mr. Ajip Rosidi's experiment in recording *Pantun Sunda* was concerned with the preservation of this art. Mr. Pandam Guritno presents in this issue an essay on *Wayang Purwa*. Mr. Anton Moellono's article on *Terms and Terminological Language* discusses the problems of language planning and development in Indonesia.

S.R.

SOME ASPECTS OF TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

BOECHARI

INTRODUCTION

Since the emergence of *Homo Erectus* the whole of Southeast Asia has formed one vast culture area. Prehistoric cultures, i.e. the Bacson-Hoabinh culture, the quadrangular axe culture, the Dongson culture and a megalithic culture flourished in mainland Southeast Asia as well as in Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia. Indian influence made itself felt from the beginning of the Christian era, and this was the cause of the emergence of Indianized states in these regions from the third century A.D. (cf. Coedès, 1968, p. 36).

It is the aim of this seminar to explore the possibilities of formulating research projects in the field of traditional and contemporary Malay culture in the framework of the development of civilization of Southeast Asia and Madagascar. With this in mind we will discuss here some of the social values and norms of traditional society.

By traditional culture and traditional society we mean the "Indianized" culture and society of Southeast Asia. As we have stated above Southeast Asia had been influenced by Indian culture. And since the prehistoric substratum was uniform over the area, the result of acculturation with Indian culture was everywhere almost the same, differing only in some details owing to the local genius of the respective areas.

The traditional society of certain areas of Southeast Asia has been described by several scholars. For ancient Thailand we have for instance the work of Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales (1934; 1965), for ancient Cambodia we have the recently published book of

Sachchidanand Sahai (1970), and we have the works of Dr. B. Schrieke (1955; 1957) and Dr. Th. G. Th. Pigeaud (1960 — 63) for ancient Indonesia. Unfortunately, owing to our limited knowledge, we cannot cite any work of this kind about the traditional society of the Philippines, Malaysia and Singapore.

As sort of a case study this article will give a brief sketch of some aspects of traditional Indonesian society, pointing here and there to the similarities with situations in ancient Thailand and ancient Cambodia. We cite data mainly from inscriptions dating from the IXth century onwards, to supplement the information in the existing books, since Schrieke used mainly sixteenth and seventeenth century sources, whereas Pigeaud limited himself to fourteenth century Java, basing his picture primarily on data extracted from the *Nagarakrtagama*, a panegyric dating from 1365 A.D., and some inscriptions and minor writings.

The topics to be discussed here are the cosmogonic background of ancient Indonesian kingship, the ideal king, the structure of the bureaucracy, the system of law enforcement, the system of revenue, and the role of religion in traditional society. The choice was determined by the fact that in adjusting the social structure with modern standards, those traditional aspects still play an important role in Southeast Asian countries, as has been pointed out recently by David Joel Steinberg (1971).

THE COSMOGONIC BACKGROUND

An Old-Javanese inscription dating from the early Majapahit period¹⁾ clearly indicated the cosmogonic concept underlying ancient Indonesian kingship. In this inscription the kingdom of Majapahit was compared with a temple, the king with the Visnu image worshipped in the temple with the *patih* as its pedestal, the entire island of Java was compared with the *punpunan* grounds of the

1) The inscription of Tuhuanaru dated 1323 A.D. (O.J.O., LXXXIII; Sarkar, 1935).

temple, and the islands of Madhura, Tanjungpura, etc. were its *ansa* grounds.

This clearly reflects the Indian cosmogony, according to which the cosmos comprises a central annular continent called Jambudvipa, surrounded by seven oceans and seven other continents. In the center of Jambudvipa is Mount Meru, the cosmic mountain, around which sun, moon, and the stars revolve. On its summit is the town of the gods, surrounded by the dwellings of the eight guardians of the world (*lokapala*). This is the Hindu cosmogony; the Buddhist one is slightly different (Heine Geldern, 1943).

This cosmogonic concept was also reflected in the Hsin T'ang shu (618 — 906 A.D.), when it records of the kingdom of Ho-ling or She-p'o that "on different sides there are 28 small countries, and none of them is not acknowledging its supremacy. There are thirty-two high ministers (Groeneveldt, 1960, p. 13). We have here thus an interpretation of the seven continents surrounding Jambudvipa, thought to be situated at the four cardinal points of Ho-ling. And when in his enumeration of the dependencies of Majapahit the author of the *Nagarakrtagama* divided them into four groups, he certainly did it with this cosmogonic concept in mind.

The inscription mentioned above compared the king with the Visnu image worshipped in the temple. Indeed, ancient Indonesian kings were believed to be incarnations of the Highest God, either Siva. Visnu, Harihara, Buddha or Siva-Buddha. And when they died their souls went to the God's paradise. This was testified by their posthumous titles and also by informations in the *Nagarakrtagama* and the *Pararaton*, according to which temples were built to worship the soul of the deceased king in the form of a stone image of the deity of whom the king was believed to be an incarnation.

The Old-Javanese *Ramayana Kakawin* dating from the middle of the ninth century A.D. (for this date see Poerbatjaraka, 1926; 1932; also J.G. de Casparis, 1956, p. 288) compared the kingdom of Ayodhya with Indra's heaven and king Dasaratha with Indra on earth. Indra is indeed the king of the gods, having his abode on the summit of Mount Meru; and beneath his heaven are the heavens of the 32 principal gods. However, for ancient Indonesia

it may be suspected that it was not Indra who was considered king of the gods, but Siva, as was the case in South India (cf. J. Filliozat in *Indica*, vol. III).

As was pointed out by R. von Heine Geldern there is much evidence of this cosmogonic basis of state and kingship in mainland Southeast Asia too, although its literary sources are still imperfectly known (Heine Geldern, 1943; for ancient Cambodia see Sahai, 1970, pp. 39 — 40).

THE IDEAL KING

The Old-Javanese *Ramayana Kakawin* also taught us that the eight guardians of the world are incorporated in the nature of the king. Consequently he must act according to their nature (*astabrata*), viz. that he ought to know the good and bad conduct of his subjects, that he ought to maintain law and order, that he ought to be just, rewarding the meritorious and punishing the evildoers, that he has to cause constant joy, that he must be patient, generous and benevolent, but he also has to destroy his enemies without delay. These informations are found in the twenty-fourth *sargga*.

Further on in the same *sargga*, and also in the third *sargga* the author of the *Ramayana Kakawin* is more elaborate in describing the right and duties of the king. In short the king has the right of demanding obeisance of his subjects, but he also has to take care of the weal and woe of his people, that he has to construct dams, roads, bridges, irrigation works, etc.

That the kings of ancient Java actually lived up to those ideals was evidenced by several inscriptions. We see kings having dams constructed to prevent inundations¹⁾; kings rewarding their

¹⁾ For instance in the inscription of Kamalagyan dated 1037 A.D. (O.J.O., LXI).

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meritorious subjects, irrespective of their descent¹), kings having ferry services established, exempting those who are responsible for the service from their tax duties²). And the higher court dignitaries and the local nobility did not yield to the kings in benevolence. A crown-prince (*rakryan mahamantri i hino*) lowered the tithes of a village after its village elders complained that they were taxed too much³), a *rakryan kanuruhan* exempted the inhabitants of a village from their tax obligations, because they had become too poor⁴).

From the above can be seen that the ancient kings did not rule despotically. But as far as we know, for ancient Cambodia and ancient Thailand this aspect of kingship was not yet sufficiently illuminated.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE BUREAUCRACY

The territorial division also reflected the cosmogonic background. The kingdom was divided into several groups of territories. First we have the capital town with the palace of the king in its center, surrounded by the principal regions of the kingdom, usually allotted to the closest relatives of the king as their apanage domains. Then we have the autonomous areas governed by the local nobility. And in the case of the kingdom of Majapahit we have the other islands as the third group, governed by their own kings who had to pay tribute to the king of Majapahit. And as the fourth and last group we have the foreign friendly states. The same kind of territorial division was also found in ancient Thailand (Quaritch

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- 1) Examples of this kind are found in many inscriptions. The hitherto unpublished inscription of Terep dated 1032 A.D. expressly stated that king Airlangga was always willing to bestow grants upon whoever is meritorious in defending his kingship, SAKAWWANAN IKAN WWAN (= whatever their descent). Other inscriptions give MON BRAHMANA, KSATRYA, WAISYA, SUDRA, SAJANMA NYA (= whether he is a BRAHMANA, a KSATRYA, a WAISYA or a SUDRA, whatever his birth).
 - 2) Inter alia in the inscription of Telang (Stutterheim, 1934) and several ferry charters dating from the Majapahit period (Pigeaud, 1960 — 63; van Naerssen, 194.).
 - 3) In the inscription of Palepanan dated 906 A.D. (Bosch, 1917).
 - 4) Inter alia in the inscription of Balinawan (O.J.O., XIX-XX).

Wales, 1965, pp. 102 ff.) and in ancient Cambodia (Sahai, 1970, pp. 71 — 85).

The Chinese chronicles give us a glimpse of the system of the bureaucracy. The Hsin T'ang shu (618 — 906 A.D.) informed us that "there are thirty-two high ministers, and the *ta-tso-kan-hiung* is the first of them" (Groeneveldt, 1960, p. 13). And the Sung shu (960 — 1279 A.D.) gives us the following information: "three sons of the king are viceroys, they are aided by *sangats* and four *rakryans*, who manage together the affairs of the state, just as the ministers in China; these have no fixed pay, but they get from time to time products of the soil and other things of this kind. Next there are more than three hundred civil employés, who are considered equal to *siu-tsai* (graduates of the lowest degree) in China, they keep the books in which the revenue is put down. They have also about a thousand functionaries of lower rank, who attend to the walls and the moat of the town, the treasury, the granaries and to the soldiers. The general of the army gets every half year ten *taels* of gold; there are thirty thousand soldiers who, every half year, are paid according to their rank" (Groeneveldt, 1960, pp. 16 — 17; see also Damais, 1960, pp. 1 — 29).

Of this information only the part concerning the higher court dignitaries can be verified by the inscriptions. There are indeed royal princes (*rakryan mahamantri i hino*, *i halu* and *i sirikan*) assisting the king in government, and there are higher court dignitaries with the title of *rakryan* and *pamgat*, the latter being clerical functionaries. They get apanage domains, the so-called *wataks*, hence the information in the Chinese chronicles that they do not get fixed pay, but products of the soil (cf. Boechari, 1968).

Whether the number is exactly thirty-two as the T'ang Annals informed us, is still an open question. This number is certainly a symbolic one, representing the thirty-two principal gods mentioned above. As to the more than 300 fiscal officials, they are supposed to be comparable with the so-called *manilala drawya haji* in the inscriptions. We will deal with this group of functionaries below.

We are fortunate in having a small manuscript, the *Nawanatya*, dealing with part of the highest court dignitaries (Pigeaud, 1960 — 63). In this short treatise are described the duties of the *patih*, the *demun*, the *kanurahan*, the *ranga* and the *tumengun* — the

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five *tanda rakryan rin pakirakiran* — and also their qualifications. A person must have certain physical and intellectual abilities to be eligible for nomination to these highest functions, irrespective of his descent.

It is to be supposed that the *wataks*, the autonomous domains of the *rakryans* and the *pangats*, have their own system of administration. However, not enough evidence has been found to reconstruct it. The scanty information only points to the existence of a *patih* and some "assistants".

The village, or *wanua*, gives us a more elaborate picture. The village is also an autonomous area, governed by village elders (*karaman*) with one of them as village head (*tuhan nin karaman* or *tuhā wanua*). Evidence in the inscriptions dating from the ninth century points to their being considered of equal rank, but each of them has a separate duty. We have thus for instance *ramas* who are responsible for maintaining the roads and the bridges, for the regulation of the water supply for irrigation, for supervising the rice-barns, the forests, etc.

It is interesting to note that villages are held responsible for the maintaining of law and order within their territories. Some inscriptions give us evidence that when there occurred murders or fights resulting in someone being injured, without the village elders being able to prevent it or to capture the evildoer, the whole village had to pay fines to the king. And the village also has its own tribunal.

THE SYSTEM OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

A certain number of the *pangats* have judicial duties. In the court of Majapahit there are seven of them, called *upapatti* (van Naerssen, 1933). They are described as "they who are able to decide who are right or wrong in disputes", and each of them is proficient in the law-books of a certain religious sect.

The existence of written codes of law is attested by the abundance of manuscripts in the Old- and Middle-Javanese and

Old-Balinese languages in museum collections in Indonesia as well as in the Netherlands. Only one doctoral dissertation, however, back in the nineteenth century, has so far dealt with this kind of literature (Jonker 1885)¹⁾. Several inscriptions also mention some of these law-books²⁾.

That those law-books were actually used in daily life is evidenced by the existence of inscriptions constituting judgments of law (*Jayapatra*). So far only ten of them have been recovered. They give us a glimpse of the process of law enforcement. In this process we have the prosecutor, the defendant, the witnesses and the judge. And in matters which are not incorporated in the law-books, decision is based on the advice of a counsel comprising honorable and trustworthy people³⁾.

The *watak* and the villages (*wanua*) had their own tribunals. The judicial officers also held the title of *pangkat*. Cases which could be settled by the village tribunal were tried there. But disputes about the status of land, especially when it concerned a freehold (*sima*), were brought up to the king⁴⁾.

THE SYSTEM OF REVENUE

For several kinds of expenditure, such as the building of temples, the reward (*daksina*) for the *brahmanas* conducting the religious ceremonies, the royal cremation ceremonies, the rewards

1) Recently an Indonesian translation of this law-book has been published by Prof. Dr. R.B. Slametmuljana (1965).

2) For instance the inscription of Kawambang Kulwan (O.J.O., LVII) mentioned the *Siwasasana*, and the inscription of "Bendosari" (O.J.O., LXXXV) mentioned the *Kutaramanawa*.

3) An example is found in the inscription of Wurudu Kidul dated 922 A.D. (Stutterheim, 1925), in which a village inhabitant, Sang Dhanadi, was taken to be a Khmer, and consequently classified into the WARGGA KILALAN. The members of the council formed to investigate this unanimously testified that he was a native inhabitant of the village (WWANG YUKTI).

4) For instance in the inscription of Sarwadharmma (O.J.O., LXXIX), and in the inscription of "Bendosari".

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for those meritorious in battle, and for public works such as the construction of dams, etc., the state had to have its own resources.

The state income was derived from tithes, taxes and fines, and also from tribute paid by the vassal states, and gifts offered by friendly countries. According to the Chinese chronicles the peasants had to pay 10% of the produce of their land (Groeneveldt, 1960, p. 16. One inscription gives us evidence that the tithes were based on the extent of the land, and that it had to be paid in cash¹). In this case one may be inclined to the belief that there existed the institution of land tax or land rent. But we are not certain yet whether this was actually the case, because we do not have definite evidence about the nature of landed property of that time, though some instances induce us to believe that the arable land was owned by the people or the village community. This supposition is based on evidence that the king had to buy a piece of land from the village elders whenever he needed it for dedication to a certain sanctuary²). And we also have evidence of people selling or putting out his piece of land on lease to another.

Taxes were drawn from trade and home industry. The inscriptions give us a lively picture of the nature of trade in ancient times. Next to the closed village economy, with peasants, men and women, going to the market place in a neighbouring village³), we also get the picture of merchants taking their wares to more distant places or to the harbours in river boats, to be exported. And foreign merchants and merchants from the other islands came to the harbours in Java, exchanging their wares with the products of the land⁴). A picture of this international trade may also be found in Chinese and Arabic accounts (see e.g. Wang Gungwu, 1958; Wheatley, 1959; Wolters, 1967; Ferrand, 1913—14).

It is also interesting to note that in ancient times there were foreign merchants staying in different places in Indonesia. In

1) This information is contained in the inscription of Palepanan mentioned in note 3, page 7.

2) In a recently discovered inscription at the village of Indrakila (Batang, Pekalongan) dated 882 A.D., a king's concubine bought a piece of land from the village elders of Salingsinan, to be dedicated to the Bhatara of Dihyang.

3) Information like this is found inter alia in the inscription of Panggumulan (Bosch, 1925; Sarkar, 1938).

4) See for instance the inscription of Kamalagyan, mentioned in note 1, page 6.

Old-Javanese inscriptions they were called *wargga kilalan*, consisting of Chinese, Cambs, Khmers, Thais, Burmese, Ceylonese, and Indians from several places in India (Aryans, Klingalese, Bengalis, etc.). The term gives us the notion that they were in one way or other involved in the collecting of taxes. May be some of them were tax-farmers, this supposition being deduced from the inscription of Wurudu Kidul dated 992 A.D. (Stutterheim, 1925)¹⁾.

Information about fines may be drawn from the law-books; and literary sources, such as the *Nagarakrtagama*, give us information about the tribute paid by vassal states, and Chinese chronicles contain reference about gifts offered by friendly countries.

Unfortunately we have not been able to get a clear picture of the fiscal organization. We referred above to the existence of the so-called *manilala drawya haji*, a list of more than a hundred titles being found in the inscriptions. The supposition that they were some kind of tax collectors is derived from information in the inscriptions stating that lands founded as freeholds may from that time on not be entered by these officials, and that merchants trading in the freeholds and artisans and craftsmen living within its boundaries are to a certain degree freed from their interference. But the titles included in this category of functionaries lead us to believe that they were not to be compared with professional tax collectors of today, but that they were king's servants living within the palace compound (*watak i jro*), who did not get apanage domains, so that for their living they had to be paid from the state treasury.

THE ROLE OF RELIGION

Finally we will say something about the role of religion in traditional society. Since prehistoric times the Indonesians have been

1) In fact this supposition is still very conjectural. As has been pointed out, this inscription concerned a certain Sang Dhanadi who was taken to be a Khmer, and was therefore classified into the **WARGGA KILALAN**. He was then ordered by Sang Pamariwa to collect taxes (?) within the region of **MANHURI**.

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highly religious people, in the sense that they have always believed in the supernatural, and one of the aspects of their belief is that they were able, as it were, to force nature to fulfil their wishes by offerings to the spirits and by worshipping the spirits of their ancestors.

Indian culture brought new religions, Hinduism and Buddhism. They did not come in their purest forms, but in an advanced state of development, showing tendencies towards syncretism between the two. Srivijaya inscriptions dating from the seventh century A.D. already give us evidence of a kind of Vajrayana Buddhism (Coedès, 1930), and the inscription of Kelurak dated 782 A.D. clearly shows the syncretistical tendencies between Hinduism and Buddhism (Bosch 1924). In fact adherents of Hinduism and Buddhism were living in peace side by side during the centuries of the "Hindu-Indonesian" period. In the courts of Singhasari and Majapahit there were superintendents of the Sivaitic as well as of the Buddhistic religion (*dharmmadhyaksa i kasatwan* and *dharmmadhyaksa i kasogatan*).

The spirits of our prehistoric ancestors were partly replaced by deities of the Hindu and Buddhist pantheon. And one also could have his personal wishes fulfilled by giving offerings to certain deities. The most important for the whole kingdom was indeed the worship of the highest God for maintaining the world order. Ancestor worship still played an important role, and the ruling dynasty, and the ruling nobility in autonomous territories, worshipped their deceased ancestors in temples.

Hinduism and Buddhism taught our ancestors a new concept of life after death. The new religions brought the prospect of salvation through meritorious deeds (*dharmma*). If one was able to live up to his duties according to his caste and profession (*svadharmma*) throughout his life, he would be freed from the endless chain of rebirths, and his soul would be taken up in the God's paradise. Supporting religious foundations, donating something to a religious community, were among the acts considered as meritorious deeds, leading to accumulation of merits.

In view of all this we are of the opinion that it was because of this highly religious attitude, the devotion to the gods, to the spirits of the ancestors, the obeisance of the people towards their rulers, and — it is self-evident — based on a sound economy, that

our forefathers were able to leave us the inheritance of such superb works of art as the Borobudur, Prambanan, Plaosan, Sewu, Singapuri, Panataran and other temples, and a wealth of literary works.

We do not find justification for attributing the end of classical Hindu-Javanese culture to the excessive burden laid upon the population by these building activities, as Schrieke proposed in one of his articles (Schrieke, 1957). The social structure, the nature of agrarian economy, and above all the religious attitude of the people make it unlikely that those building activities destroyed the economic structure of the ancient society¹).

However, we should not make the mistake of visualizing Hindu and Buddhist religion penetrating into the lowest strata of the population. The greater part of the village community, especially that classified into the sudra caste, still held to the indigenous belief in spirits. Central-Javanese inscriptions still invoke all kinds of these non-Indian supernatural beings.

CONCLUSION

In summary we may point out here some of what we think the most important aspects of traditional society, which might be given more attention, and for which, if possible, also facilities for research be provided.

The traditional territorial division, namely the kingdom comprising autonomous areas, is followed by the present government. We think that for Indonesia, comprising several thousands of islands, with a population consisting of so many ethnic groups, this form of government is the most acceptable one. And recently the government has rightly endeavoured to establish autonomous villages

¹) It is to be remembered that the social classes mainly involved in the building of temples were the BRAHMANAS, the KSATRYAS and the SUDRAS, the latter doing the dirty work of carrying the stones to the building site. The Plaosan and Prambanan temples give us evidence that they were built by the king in cooperation with all his state functionaries and the local rulers.

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(State Regulation No. 19/1965). The autonomous village is the most original social unit since prehistoric times, and never had it shown its inability to function properly in the total framework.

The king as the highest leader was supposed to have divine characteristics. He was supposed to be the upholder of the law, rewarding the meritorious and punishing the evildoers, irrespective of their descent, and he ought to be just, generous and benevolent, always caring about the weal and woe of his people, and he ought to crush his enemies without delay. The higher state functionaries had to be chosen from suitable persons, the choice being based exclusively on their intellectual abilities.

The view that before the coming of western influence our ancestors did not have written codes of law, and that traditional jurisprudence was based solely on customary law, is certainly wrong. Manuscripts containing codes of law in ancient as well as more modern Indonesian languages may be found in abundance in museum collections and in private possession. The study of this kind of literature may open our eyes to our own ideals of justice, which might be used as basis for the composition of a national code of law.

We in Southeast Asia are now faced with the problem of harmonising our social standards with modern requirements as the result of the impact of Western culture. We are faced with the problem as to whether we will fully adopt the western political structure, the western system of bureaucracy, the western concepts of law and justice, etc., or whether we shall retain some of our traditional social values and adjust them to modern standards. If we are inclined to the latter, then we have to know our cultural heritage more profoundly.

The picture sketched above is not complete. There are still many uncertain interpretations, owing to our inadequate knowledge of the ancient languages, and to the fact that so many sources still have to be published. So many inscriptions are known only in provisional transcriptions (Cohen Stuart, 1875; Brandes-Krom, 1913) and many more are still unpublished. A look at the lists of manuscripts kept in museums in Jakarta, Bali and in the Netherlands makes us conscious of the staggering amount of work still to be done in the field of philology.

I do not know how the situation is in the Philippines, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore. A vague idea of what was already done and what still has to be done in the field of epigraphy and philology in those regions may be obtained from the bibliographies included in the works of, among others, G. Coedès (1968), D.G.E. Hall (1968), and David J. Steinberg (1971).

We recommend here thus the study of all kinds of documentary material, be it inscriptions, chronicles, treatises on statecraft, codes of law or other literary works, since this kind of study may give us an idea of our ideals and social values. One thing we must acknowledge, namely that the social values of our forefathers were such that they were able to hand on to us a cultural heritage to be proud of.

THE INNER LIFE OF THE JAVANESE

Moh. Said REKSOHADIPRODJO

Though the Javanese as individuals are different from each other in their daily behaviour, yet we can observe some common aspects in their way of life as an ethnic group. These common aspects, however, are not always expressed in the actual life, but reflected in common inclinations, common aspirations, and common ideals.

The inner life of man is in fact an expression of his search for happiness. We are all searching for happiness, whether as individuals, as a race or as a nation. Only the way in which we try to realize this happiness and the meaning happiness has for each of us are different.

As each person and each race has his own interpretation of happiness, and his own approach towards the achievement of this happiness, so each person and each race has also his own special kind of inner life.

Two aspects that I consider intrinsic to, and characteristic of Javanese inner life namely, the syncretic-dialectic aspect and the inner centered aspect, will be discussed here.

THE SYNCRETIC-DIALECTIC ASPECT

The Javanese are known (or notorious) for their syncretic-dialectic approach to life, for their inclination to reconcile various cultural elements however different in origin, in form and in character they may be, as long as they can be considered as having one common ground or aiming at one common goal. This inclination is reflected in the motto *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). This explains

why it is that in the inner life of the Javanese there can exist together peacefully and harmoniously, various elements belonging to the world of animism, dynamism, monotheism, polytheism, monism, pluralism, pantheism, as well as those originating in classical and modern philosophies, ideologies and sciences. All these various elements manipulated, transformed, revitalized and ordered in a harmonious way, form the general frame of Javanese orientation towards life though individually they assert that they are Moslem, Christian, Buddhist or of some other faith.

This syncretic-dialectic approach is a typical aspect of the so-called *Kejawen* mental attitude of the Javanese, based on the conviction that all religions, philosophies and ideologies, however different in their starting-point, form and content, have one and the same goal, and that all concepts of God, however different from each other, are concepts of one and the same God, the source and ground of all that exists.

Is not the aim of all religions, philosophies and ideologies the same, namely, the happiness of man as well as the formation of a society that is orderly, peaceful, prosperous and just, based on love and truth (*Mamayu hayu salira, mamayu hayu bangsa, mamayu hayu manungsa*), and is not the concept of God in all religions a concept of the same God of Truth and Justice, of Love and Compassion ?

What is important to the Javanese way of thinking is not that which makes us different and separated from one another, but that which makes us similar to one another and binds us together in an ecumenical way; not the form and formalities but the essence and actual behaviour; not the dogmas and theories but honesty and consistency in the realization of what is conceived as just and true; not that we belong to a certain faith or religious group but that the spirit underlying all religions is within us, and that we live up to it consistently.

Therefore the Javanese are reluctant to quarrel about formalities, form, dogmas, theories and concepts or to compete in gaining adherents or followers for a special religion, philosophy or ideology. They prefer to work together towards the same goal while preserving each one his proper identity and helping others in trying to be perfect each in his way. (This is expressed for example, in the idea of *Gotong royong* based on *gescheiden samengaan*

or separated but working together according to Ki Hadjar Dewantara).

The Kejawen mental attitude implies a tolerance and openness to ideas whatever they are and from wherever they come, without however, losing one's autonomy and critical sense of objectivity. This is a tolerance and openness based not on an "I don't care" mentality but on respect for the ideas and convictions of others and on a sense of modesty concerning one's own ideas and convictions, without becoming inconsistent; on a love for truth while remaining conscious of the relativity of man's ability to conceive truth.

Such a tolerance and openness, however, is with difficulty realized in practice without its being misunderstood and misinterpreted as a lack of consistency and integrity, as being too permissive, too compromising and too submissive; yes, even as a kind of dishonesty and hypocrisy.

It is indeed true that the Javanese in general are no strict followers of a certain faith. (Strict in the sense of punctually observing formal duties and formalities of an institutionalized religion). But this does not mean that they are not consistent or that they don't like formalities and formal duties.

It is because, to most Javanese, the fact of belonging to an institutionalized religion is merely a matter of utility, such as wearing a dress, in order to be recognized and respected (*agama-ageming aji*) but concerning principles as well as concerning formalities and rituals they like to be free (*mandireng pribadi*).

Therefore, it should not come as a surprise when one observes that many Javanese, while asserting that they are Moslems, observe only the Islamic formalities and rituals concerning marriage and death, and do not perform the prayers either at home or in the mosque, do not fast during the month of Puasa, do not abstain from drinking alcoholic beverages and from eating pork, nor that they only make use of Koranic phrases and verses for magical purposes without knowing the meaning of the words, and follow the moral code of Islam more according to the spirit than according to the letter.

This, of course, gives the impression of indifference, permissiveness, and inconsistency, even of dishonesty and hypocrisy

(*munafik*). Such Moslems are called *abangan* (reds) to distinguish them from the *putihan* (whites) or *santri* (strict follower of a faith).

However, they themselves prefer to be called *munafik* to giving up their personal freedom as *abangan*.

THE INNER-CENTERED ASPECT

The other aspect of Javanese inner life is what I call the inner-centered aspect — the inclination to solve the problems of life through introspection or *mawas diri* first, before acting in relation to the outer world.

This implies that before acting we have to take care that our mind is calm and quiet, serene and peaceful (*neng-meneng*). Only when we are *neng* will our mind be clear (*ning, bening, wening*) and will we be able to think in the proper way objectively and creatively (*nung, hanung*), and thus have the best chance of determining the most effective solution to the problem we are facing (*nang, menang*). This process is called *neng-ning-nung-nang*.

- a. To act impulsively and emotionally, is considered naive and immature.
- b. Thinking that the world outside us can be blamed for how and what we feel and for how we act and what we do is also naive and immature.

Indeed, being a physical object we are determined, we are provoked and we are challenged by events and circumstances, by men and things, thus by the outer world, but being also a subject we are free to determine how we act, react and respond, towards the outer world. So, as to how and what we feel or do, we ourselves are responsible and no one or nothing can be blamed for our mistakes and griefs.

The outer world is actually only a stimulus or a challenge towards which we react or respond, and how we react or respond depends on the mental attitude of each of us. So we

ourselves are the makers of our life, for we are free in determining the way in which we want to live.

To be responsible for what we feel or do, implies not blaming others. And not blaming others will prevent us from feeling anger and envy, hatred and resentment towards the outer world, and will make us feel at home in whatever circumstances we may live, peaceful and serene (*neng*).

With this mental attitude we are able to conceive reality in an objective way.

- c. Seeing that people, living a simple life can be happy (*mikul dawet rengeng-rengeng*) while people living in comfort and luxury and able to enjoy all the pleasures of the world can be unhappy (*numpak mobil mbrebes mili*) we can draw the conclusion that happiness is different from pleasure, comfort and luxury. And also that we can have pleasure, comfort and luxury if we have riches, power, prestige and fame (*semat, drajat, kramat*), but that with *semat, drajat* and *kramat* we cannot buy happiness.

We also experience that if we are tired and sleepy and also have a good conscience ("a good conscience sleeps in thunder"), we can have a good sleep, while if we are neither tired nor happy and do not have a good conscience, we find it difficult to have a good sleep, even in a comfortable bed and in a comfortable room; and also that any food and drink will taste good if we are healthy, hungry and thirsty. And that if we are sick, not hungry and not thirsty any so-called delicious food and drink, will not taste as delicious as it is supposed to taste.

- d. We can also observe that attachment to and ambition for all what is transient such as riches, power, prestige, fame and success, comfort and luxury, things and persons are actually the source of all sorrow and grief, fear and anguish and of all negative and destructive acts, and not the possession of these transient things, nor their use in an efficient and effective way according to our moral conscience.

Thus we don't need to renounce the world nor do we need to fear the possessions of worldly things, if only we can accept the transient quality of the things of the world as unavoidable and so can use them in the proper way.

Accepting the transiency of worldly things as unavoidable implies the readiness of losing everything that we have, except ourselves i.e. our integrity and our self-respect. (Goethe: *Alles koenne man verlieren wenn man bleibe was man ist*).

Using worldly things in the proper way is to use them according to what Ki Ageng Surjomentaram called the six *sa* i.e.:

1. *sabutuhe* : according to what we really need i.e. physical and mental health and inner peace and happiness
2. *saperlune* : efficiently i.e. serving our essential needs
3. *sacukupe* : effectively i.e. without waste of energy, time and matter.
4. *sabenere* : according to what we conceive as just and true, according to reality "as it is"
5. *samestine* : according to legal and ethical norms.
6. *sakepenake* : without violating our physical and mental health.

Being able to do all this we can be successful without outwardly vulnerable (*digdaya tanpa aji*); we shall be able to feel rich without having riches (*sugih tanpa banda*); we shall not feel lonely and afraid though we have to stay alone and have to fight for truth and justice alone, as a single fighter (*nglurug tanpa bala*).

Being able to do all this we can be successful without dominating, humiliating or degrading others. (Sosrokartono: *Menang tanpa ngasorake*).

- e. There is another aspect of *mawasdiri* that is called *tepa salira* i.e. trying to understand the feelings and motives of others through putting ourselves in their place.

This prevents us from unjust judging and mistaken presumption, from condemning others as if we were faultless saints, and enables us to sympathise and to love others, and to work for them without ulterior motives.

The ability to work for others with a love that is not dominating, not possessive, and not commercial i.e. free from ulterior motives gives us the feeling of inner richness and power that enables us to find happiness in the process of action itself and not primarily in the result.

This inner-centeredness often gives the impression that the Javanese are reserved, introverted and lacking in dynamism, indolent, unrealistic and impractical, careless and too easily satisfied. And indeed, if this inner-centeredness is abused, it does result in such attitudes and characteristics.

- f. This inner-centeredness also makes the Javanese disinclined to work for a good place in the hereafter but rather to realize happiness in the present, in the Now.

They say: "Paradise and Hell are here in this world, namely within ourselves, from moment to moment. Paradise and Hell are mental states depending on what and how we think and feel and not on objective realities outside us.

You do good because you are happy doing good and not because you expect a good in the hereafter". Therefore the motto: *Rame hing gawe, sept ing pamrih* i.e. "Be active, and creative without ulterior motives", for this enables us to be happy in the process of acting itself, irrespective of the results. (Willem van Oranje: *Point n'est besoin d'esperer pour entreprendre ni reussir pour perseverer* = I need no hope for success in order to undertake something nor do I need success in order to persevere).

Finally this inner-centeredness inclines the Javanese to mysticism, which aims at being one with God (Union mystica) at each moment. (*Manunggaling kawula lan Gusti* = The union of the creature with the Creator), which is reflected in the harmony of our subject in our daily life.

It is my hope that these brief remarks will help others to understand more about the Javanese and their way of thinking. At least that these aspects of the inner life of the Javanese will provide a stimulus to further inquiry into the subject.

THE RELEVANCE OF STUDYING ETHNIC GROUPINGS IN INDONESIA

T.O. IHROMI

Unity in Diversity, reflecting the basic characteristic of the composition of our nation, reveals that our society is pluralistic¹). Little effort has as yet been devoted to the conceptual analysis of what exactly is meant by pluralistic societies, however, there appears to be at least a working agreement, that there exist significant differences between the basic institutions to be found in the various groups composing pluralistic societies.²). Even a superficial comparison alone, is sufficient to indicate that institutions such as the family, within various ethnic groups in Indonesia, differ in regard to both their structure and underlying values³.

One can cite as an example the family systems in the Minangkabau region and those of the Bataks, two areas which although contiguous in terms of locality, entirely differ in regard to the family structure. In the Minangkabau region the children of a couple will be regarded as members of the kinship unit, at the mother's side, whereas the Batak accept precisely the opposite. According to the Batak concept sons are the link with future generations, and therefore their absence implies discontinuity of the family. In the Minangkabau area, daughters link the nuclear family with the future

1) By society is meant, "the largest grouping in which common customs, traditions, attitudes and feelings of unity are operative" (see Gillin and Gillin, *Cultural Sociology*, New York, 1948, p. 139).

2) See M.G. Smith, "Social and Cultural Pluralism", *Annals New York Academy of Sciences*, 1960; pp. 763--785).

3) By institution is meant, "a functional configuration of culture patterns (including actions, ideas, attitudes, and cultural equipment) which possesses a certain permanence and which is intended to satisfy felt social needs". See Gillin and Gillin op. cit. p. 315.

line of descent, and are therefore valued differently compared to daughters in the Batak region. However, it should be stressed that the above factors cannot be interpreted as implying that sons have no value in the Minangkabau area, or that daughters are considered to be far inferior in the Batak region. The example is only presented to provide some insight into the cultural context, in which matters are perceived, and to illustrate that values must be seen in relation to their cultural background.

Differences in family structure, are also reflected in the rules of inheritance. The Batak son is considered the logical person, to take over the duties and rights of his deceased parents. As a consequence, daughters, who will leave the parental house and village to follow their husbands, are not entitled to inherit property. In the Minangkabau region, sons do not inherit the property of their parents; however, the problem of inheritance in this area, is extremely complicated and for our present purposes it suffices to point out that the structure of the family also relates to the rules of inheritance. In cases of divorce, certain rules dictate who will take care of children, and again these rules are related to the structure of the family. In the Batak area children belong to the kinship unit on the father's side, and therefore the father or his relatives have to take care of them, however, exceptions do exist, particularly when the children are still small. In the Minangkabau region, children will stay with the mother or their mother's brother.

These examples of Minangkabau and Batak rules of inheritance and other customs, clearly illustrate the differences existing between the two ethnic groups, and such examples can be elaborated to other ethnic groups if required. Cultural anthropologists, whose concern is the study of people's behaviour in all possible forms of societies, will enjoy naming all the specific characteristics to be found among various ethnic groupings in Indonesia, and ethnographers can record "to their heart's content", the features of the various groups. Ethnologists can in an exciting way analyse the implications of the differences, and attempt to formulate propositions, and perhaps later theories could be written which will contribute to the advancement of social sciences. The Indonesian scholar, however, is

not as yet too deeply involved in such activities¹). What is considered to be of the greatest urgency is a systematic investigation of the implication of the plurality of values in an attempt to further understand the problems which we face as a nation.

II

Cultures, implicitly, or at times explicitly, seem to select certain values, which are operative as the main guides of behaviour for individuals encompassed in the culture concerned²). For the purpose of this article, we felt it sufficient to regard values as those propositions in a culture, relating to what is considered desirable, the ideal and negatively, what is undesirable or to be avoided³). Through the socialization process individuals in a society possess knowledge of the values existing in their culture, and mechanisms of social control exist, which ensure that individuals behave according to the preference expressed in the culture⁴).

In a plural society, such as Indonesia, there also exists a plurality of value systems, providing guides for the behaviour of individuals, originating both in the various ethnic cultures, and from the growing national Indonesian culture. One can imagine that such a situation entails latent sources of conflict for the individual, especially when loyalty to an ethnic group conflicts with the loyalty to the larger group i.e. the nation. Arguments can be raised questioning the validity of the use of the term, "an Indonesian culture". Foreigners in Indonesia, have often tended to

1) Both limited funds and limited time because in most cases sources of additional income must be sought, do not permit the performance of research particularly where the results are not directly applicable.

2) See Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, paperback edition, New York, 1959, p. 20.

3) A comprehensive article on values which could be used to shed more light on the problem of values, is Ayoub's article, see Victor A. Ayoub. "The Study of Values" in James A. Clifton (ed.), *Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*, Boston, 1968; p. 245 — 272.

4) By the process of socialization is meant: the process by which the individual develops into a functioning member of the group, acting according to its standards, conforming to its mores, observing its traditions and adjusting himself to the social situations he meets, sufficiently well to command the tolerance, if not the admiration of his fellows. See Gillin and Gillin, op. cit. p. 643:

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stress that there is as yet no Indonesian culture, but that there rather exists many ethnic groupings, with people to a large extent living their life within the framework provided by these ethnic cultures.

An Indonesian, however, experiences the reality of the Indonesian culture and he certainly shares many cultural elements with other Indonesians scattered throughout the archipelago. The Indonesian language, as a common language, is mastered if not actively, then at least in a passive way by most Indonesians. Radio broadcasts, newspapers, instruction at schools, meetings are all conducted in Indonesian and these contribute to the growth of one national culture. Public laws are uniform in the entire nation, and the political sector also called the political culture, bears common characteristics throughout Indonesia. The common experiences of the people during the last 50 years, including the years of Japanese occupation, the revolutionary period and the most recent years, were also instrumental in accelerating the growth of one national culture. For the individual Indonesian, a situation where there exists both a national culture in the process of growth together with the ethnic culture, gives rise to a condition, where part of his life is dominated by the values based on ethnic cultures, while other aspects are governed by values originating in the national culture. Values governing family life, for example, are usually oriented towards ethnic culture, whereas political choices will usually be based on non-ethnic values.

Problems of national integration are then facing our nation, and it is expected that social sciences (understood narrowly, i.e. excluding economics), could contribute to the search for solutions¹).

Another issue which has gained prominence in recent years, is the question of the relationship between cultural values and developmental problems²). The social sciences face the challenge of

¹) Seminars on intergroup relations, on ethnic relations, sponsored by various groups in Indonesia, reflect the realization of the seriousness of the problem.

²) Research on non-economic factors related to the development of entrepreneurs (or "is being") was performed by the Faculty of Social Sciences this year, at the request of Bappenas. This is an example of realization of the importance of understanding social cultural factors, in relation to development.

offering recommendations, which can be formulated into operational policies, to ease the process of development. However, because it is still relatively "young", and trained social scientists are often few, these challenges to participate in "social engineering", are inadequately answered.



III

In our decade, the realization that an understanding of cultural factors is imperative, for the solution of many of the problems we face, is commonly shared. This is popularly expressed in such phrases as: "It is the mentality which has to be changed, if development is to be successful". In our society developmental programs were launched, with the goal of eventually providing a happier life for the people. It was for their sake, that development was started, however, the tragic fact is, that in many cases the people oppose these programs. Development essentially implies that a planned change is generated. Innovations are introduced, and people are encouraged to accept these, and as such to accept change. In order to understand why obstacles are sometimes faced, while at other times such success is recorded an understanding of cultures, the nature of culture and the motivations of people, are some of the topics which should be studied by those involved in development. The utilization of concepts and methodology, such as those developed in cultural anthropology, is one possible way of studying cultural background.

IV

An attempt to demonstrate the analysis of an ethnic culture, to enable a more thorough understanding of the cultural dynamics at work in a group, will be experimented with in this article. The attempt will centre on a description of the Toba-Batak group, a subdivision of the ethnic group referred to as the Bataks, a tribe who originally inhabited the area surrounding Lake Toba in North

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Sumatra. The entire Batak group consists of a series of subgroups, some of which are known as: Karo Batak, Pak-pak, Toba Batak, Simelungun Batak, Angkola and Sipirok Batak, and Mandailing Batak¹⁾. Apparently these subgroups were all descendants of one original tribe, which migrated from mainland Southeast Asia, some 800 years before Christ.

In the course of time these groups have elaborated their institutions and language in such a way, that today differences and variations are encountered. Nonetheless, all the groups recognize a single mythological account as a story of their progenitor. The structure of the family within the subgroups is essentially the same. Rules of descent is patrilineal, and the mother's brother's daughter is considered to be the preferential bride for a man, and even if this pattern is not followed, the bride is classified in terms of this relationship²⁾. The use of family names, referred to as *marga* (or a derivation of it), added to one's given name is considered imperative as a way of identification. The family name can be used as an indicator of the subgroup to which one belongs. *Sinaga* for example will be a person belonging to the Simelungun group, *Pardede* to the Toba Batak group, whereas *Rangkuti* usually belongs to the Mandailing group. There are many stories, which narrate the origin and specific characteristics of families or *marga*, and these stories are transmitted to members of the families in each generation by means of oral literature³⁾.

Another custom shared by the subgroups is the prohibition on exchange of brides between two kinship units. A reciprocal relationship of bride giver and bride receiver between two family-units⁴⁾ is an intolerable combination. Rules governing behaviour towards one's bride receiver (the person to whom a daughter or sister is married), differ from those governing behaviour towards a family unit from whom one receives a bride. The first is characterized by superiority since the one who provides the bride

1) For this grouping see J. Keuning. "Toba Bataks en Mandailing Bataks", *Indonesie*, vol. 7, 1953 — 1954, p. 157.

2) Her father will be addressed as mother's brother by the son-in-law, and the father-in-law will refer to his daughter-in-law as his wife's brother's daughter.

3) Sometimes old Batak men write down the history of their *marga*, and publish a book on it. The book written by I.J. Simandjuntak *Pustaka Partuturan Batak. Tarombo Partuturan Marga Simandjuntak*, Medan, no date, could be cited as an example.

4) A detailed explanation is given in Vengouwen, 1964, chapter I.

is considered to be the possessor of *sahala* (*mana* type concept), or source of blessings, while the latter is a relationship of submission. This implies that one family could not possibly be related to another family in a way which implied that the family had to be regarded both respectfully and at the same time with subordination. Another characteristic shared by all the subgroups is the practice of brideprice. Upon marriage, the bride leaves her parental village, to become henceforth a member of the kinship unit of the husband.

It appears that the transfer of the girl's membership, could not occur in a neutral atmosphere. In the past, apparently in a peasant village economy, marriage in addition to being an event with magic and religious implications, was also an occasion for the exchange of economically valuable goods. The family of the groom had to pay certain gifts to the father and brothers of the bride, and this transaction is what is referred to as brideprice in anthropological literature, while the Batak term carries a connotation of purchase, such as *boli*¹⁾. Payment of such gifts continue until this day, even in urban situations. While in the past payment was in the form of valuables such as gold and cattle, nowadays it is in cash²⁾.

V

This discussion of common customs around marriage and the family, indicates that kinship is considered an important focus of the culture. This is certainly true in the case of the Toba Batak, where the extended family could be regarded as the microcosmos, in which a large portion of the life of the individual takes place. Rules as guides to behaviour in all relationships connected with the family are elaborated, and are inculcated to the future generations in the process of socialization. Even in urban circumstances, ceremonial life connected with events such as birth, weddings, death of relatives or classificatory relatives claim much of the time, attention and money of the Toba Batak. When marriage to a non-Batak takes place, rites are also performed with the non-Batak

1) See Vergouwen, 1964, p. 171.

2) The writer conducted interviews with urban Toba Batak in Pematang Siantar, November 1972, and respondents point out that the brideprice is considered to be important. The amount varies from Rp. 10,000 to a hundred thousand rupiah.

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being adopted into the appropriate *marga*¹⁾. In view of the importance of the familial relationship, and in view of the difficulties of communications with non-Batak people, it can be understood, that as a rule, Batak parents oppose the marriage of their children to non-Bataks²⁾).

At their area of origin, the Batak people reside in villages, which are occupied by lineages, or *marga*. Members of one village, are usually members of a large single extended family. Neighbouring villages are lineages or *marga* with whom marriage ties traditionally exist. Life cycle rites are the events during which families assemble, engage in mutual aid relationship, and exhibit their wealth, (its being blessed, *hagabeon*) and the numerical strength of its members. These are indications of prestige, and prestige of a family is a very important issue in the Batak mind. Invitations are communicated to relatives, friends and neighbours, with great care being taken, over both the appropriate means of forwarding the invitations and also that no one of importance is forgotten. Personal communication of an invitation is essential, as letters are not considered a proper means of inviting at least certain persons. Events in such rites are rigorously structured and it is expected that every participant should know his role. Communications are very formal, with questioning and answering on previously known matters, and the use of flowery language, and proverbs being the norm. Accounts are usually made of those who attended ceremonies, and of those who are absent, and contributors to the ceremony are also noted.

During large ceremonies a buffalo is slaughtered, of which part is cooked as food, and part is divided according to classification, following one's status. Meat as food is considered inferior compared with those parts of the buffalo which are distributed according to one's relationship to the host (*jambur*).

The death of parents, who are considered to be blessed, or *gabe*, is an occasion which entitles or actually forces a family to perform elaborate funeral rites. Only when a man had sons and daughters or grandsons through the patrilineal line can such elaborate rites be performed; for those who die in less favourable circumstances,

1) A bride will be adopted into the family of the mother's brother and a bridegroom into the family of the husband of the father's sister.

2) Respondents in Pematang Siantar expressed a preference for Batak sons-in-law, or daughters-in-law, because this enables the relationship with the parents to take place in the usual-way manner.

such as being sonless, are not entitled to such rites. Specific terms exist for the various circumstances in which people die.

It is also expected that families erect monuments or tombs in which the bones of deceased ancestors are reburied. Rites are performed for days, and the extended family with all relatives either by marriage or genealogy, assemble to perform dances, deliver speeches and eat together. Buffaloes are slaughtered, and relatives contribute money or other gifts. In the original context, these events provide a certain dynamism to the culture.

Feelings of belonging to the family are reinforced, individuals are motivated to increase the prestige of the family through his efforts to gain either more influence, or wealth. Being a large family, with many descendants is also considered as an indication of power, so that large families are one's ideal. This can be clearly seen in the wishes bestowed upon a couple, such as "..... hopefully, you will be blessed with 18 sons and seventeen daughters".

The life of Toba Bataks in the olden times was limited to boundaries not exceeding a few surrounding villages. There were never meaningful political entities covering large areas, so that tribal warfare was the usual friction with neighbouring villages. The loyalty and point of orientation was very much limited to the lineage, to the family. The Toba Batak generally possesses strong aspirations to increase the prestige of his family, to continue its existence, and to enlarge its sphere of influence.

When the Toba Bataks migrated to East Sumatra and later to Java they brought with them village oriented concepts which were ingrained during their childhood. In the new areas they look for other Toba Bataks and after tracing their common origins they reestablish familial relationships. In the new environment they continue to be strongly motivated by the desire to increase the wealth and prestige of both their family and people and are moved by the ideal progress, *hamajuon*, a new version of the ideals of the village level.

They adjust quite well to the circumstances of modern urban living; however, they preserve their traditional ideals, aspirations, customs and the cherished *adat* and are therefore generally quite unresponsive to appeals such as "for the sake of development one should pay more taxes" or "in view of the population problem one should limit the number of children". Their frame of ideals and

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way of thinking are very much dominated by concepts originating from the ethnic culture and therefore while action responses such as working harder to benefit his people are quite natural, orientation to the larger group is unfamiliar.

The above description is naturally polaristic and many Toba Batak may argue that such pure types no longer reflect the general situation of their people. However, while I accept that there is truth in such a statement I would suggest that those Toba Batak to whom this model no longer applies are those who are at present converting themselves to new perspectives, that is, those who are accepting new ideals and values and are therefore being released from the traditional orientation.

The point of this discussion is to illustrate that as long as the original ideals determine prevailing attitudes then innovations such as family planning will be considered unacceptable. When points of orientation are more or less confined to the family or to the Batak people then conflict with groups such as the Minangkabau, particularly in areas related to economic competition, will remain a latent phenomena.

Attempts could be made to indoctrinate people with new values; however, this would probably prove ineffective in the long run. What may be attempted in addition to speedy propaganda is a sound program in the area of inculcation of new values. There are subtle means available to reeducate adults towards new ideals. Sonlessness need not be considered a calamity when one has daughters and sons-in-law, nor childlessness, when children can be adopted. Relationships should not only be considered meaningful when shared with fellow "tribesmen" when so much personal enrichment is potentially available from links with Javanese, Buginese and others once the original barriers have been overcome. Why should wealth and power be the ultimate goals when there is room for enjoyment of art and the fruits of creativity? What is really recommended is a well planned cultural policy. Few people are willing to give up their old way of doing things, unless they are reasonably sure, that the new way will enable them to live a life which they consider worthy. Educational films, cultural programs and good reading material within the reach of the common man, should be encouraged and heavily subsidized if new values regarding, for example, family size are to be accepted.

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KEBATINAN AND KEBATINAN MOVEMENTS FOR THE JAVANESE

Bonokamsi DIPOJONO

THE VARIOUS CONCEPTS OF KEBATINAN

In 1955 the first organization of the *kebatinan* movements (Badan Kongres Kebatinan Indonesia or BKKI) attempted to define kebatinan as follows: Kebatinan is the basic source and the principle of the Absolute Lordship to achieve an ethical way of life for the sake of the perfection of life¹). The main aims of the movement are the discouragement of self-interest (*sepi ing pamrih*) and the fostering of hard work (*rame ing gawe*) for the good of the world in general (*mamayu hayuning bawono*). According to Wongsonegoro (chairman of the BKKI), kebatinan proper is the inner experience of the individual during the exercise of meditation (*samadhi, sembahyang, sujud, manembah*), the ultimate aim of which is always the "union mystique" (*manunggal or jumbuhing kawulo lan Gusti*).

Djojodiguno considers perfection of life as the main goal of kebatinan and accordingly mentioned four ways of achieving such perfection: occultism (the use of magic powers), mysticism (*manunggal*), metaphysics (*paran sangkaning dumadi*) and moral ethics (*budi luhur*).

Rosjidi mentioned three possible meanings of the term kebatinan: (1) Probing of the "inner life", (2) Magic and Occultism, (3) Kebatinan related to the word *Bathiniyah* which means "in the inner self". While Wongsonegoro considers mysticism as the nucleus of kebatinan, Djojodiguno and Rosjidi present a broader

1) Translation from J.A. Niels Mulder.

concept of kebatinan by including within its definition both magic and occultism. The BKKI stresses also the social consequences of kebatinan.

In general, kebatinan may imply not only concern with the human inner life, but also the exploration of the supernatural world and its relationship with the natural world. The attitude of always looking for a supernatural explanation of natural phenomena may be seen as one of the main aspects of the Javanese life-style. Many Javanese particularly the spiritual leaders of kebatinan movements claim their kebatinan knowledge as to be the traditional Javanese science of Javanism (*ilmu kejawen*). This knowledge actually implies a mixture of Hindu-Buddhistic, Islamic and old animistic beliefs. Although the ultimate goal is often an eternal unity with the One God, there tends to be great diversity of opinion concerning not only the nature of this ultimate goal itself, but also over both its conceptualization and the appropriate course for its attainment.

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF KEBATINAN

For the Javanese, human life is seen as part of an endless cosmic life-cycle of the soul, of which life in this world is represented but a brief moment in this continuing cycle. There is a strong belief in the existence of a structured supernatural world with a hierarchical strata of heavens and hells, each with its own inhabitants. Supernatural beings are also distributed according to a kind of hierarchical system. After death, the eternal soul supposedly reaches and is temporarily bound to live in one of these strata of heavens and hells, depending upon the individual's "good" or "bad" worldly life. A higher heaven may then only be obtained by rebirth in a next worldly life. This longing for a higher heaven after death is one of the main aims of the Javanese (by the practice of kebatinan); the ultimate goal which is the *mokswa* or "perfect death".

For the ordinary Javanese, a direct God-person relationship seems unthinkable. Although there is a belief in the Supreme

God (*Gusti Allah*), the Creator (*Sing Murbeng dumadi*), the Almighty (*sing Kuwoso*) and the Lord (*Pangeran*), the God-concept itself is not so clear. There is for instance no clear God-worship either in the form of offerings of flowers (*sesaji*) or during ritual feasts (*selametan*), but rather a strong ancestor- and spirit-worship, of which offerings to house- and tree-spirits, the cult of sacred family weapons, visits to graves of ancestors, are but a few of the manifestations usually heavily stressed in family education. From childhood, the Javanese is accustomed to spirit-worship. Spirits in general are usually feared, however, certain spirits are also seen as protectors. Spirit-worship is an acquired way of asking for spirit protection, blessing and forgiveness. The belief of being protected or forgiven may reduce an individual's insecurity and guilt feelings when facing his emotional problems, even though the problems are not resolved. Spirits also frequently become objects of projection. To blame the spirit as the probable cause of emotional tension may transform anxieties and frustrations into irrational fears that can then be handled more easily by actions, such as offerings and visits to the graves of ancestors. The blaming of spirits may also be more socially beneficial than the blaming of other persons in the near environment as it may prevent both possible disturbances in interpersonal relationships and the acting out of aggressive behaviour towards the environment. The individual may learn a proper form of projection and proper actions for protection in family education or from other persons. It is because of this gratifying experience that spirit-worship is still prevalent in this modern time. In certain kebatinan movements, such spirit- and ancestor-worship may be highly cultivated. A much more complicated communication system may be created with the supernatural worlds and beings. Beside the interpersonal relationships, there is also supposed to be both interspirit and spirit-person relationships together with interaction between the natural world and the various strata of heavens and hells. It is therefore not very surprising to find that life in the presence of a cultivation of kebatinan is generally considered to be more perfect, by the Javanese.

The Javanese philosophy of life seems to be based on certain ethical principles, usually taught and integrated in family education. Of these the principles and submissive attitude of the *Narimo*

(acceptance), the *Sabar* (patience), the *Waspodo* (alertness), the *Eling* (being conscious of), the *Totokromo* (etiquette), *Kaprajan* (dignity), *Andap Asor* and *Prasojo* (simplicity and modesty) are the most important.

The *Narimo* principle is the attitude of resignation, an acceptance of one's fate however unpleasant it may be. This is usually accompanied by a kind of rationalization, to enhance the tolerance of frustration. If, for instance, a Javanese is facing difficulties in finding a job, he usually will make comments such as: "it is not yet his fate, it is not yet God's will, it is not yet the right time", etc. With this outlook, the Javanese does not easily blame others for his failures. For example, if a business run by a lazy son is not functioning well, the father will say: "Well, why did I choose such a lazy boy to run my business? If he were more active, I still doubt whether it would run better if it is not yet God's will".

The *Sabar* principle is the attitude of patience, to be patient in any kind of situation. A Javanese will not usually attempt to fulfill his drives and needs by dramatic overacting, but will rather wait for the right moment, in the belief that he has plenty of time. Emotionally, he will not react spontaneously, either by bursting into great laughter or tears, or by becoming angry. This control of the emotions may also be attributed to the principles of etiquette (*totokromo*). Javanese are usually a bit slow, never hurrying or rushing through their daily activities. The occasional conscious control of certain basic human needs, such as abstinence from certain foods and drinks, or from sleep, may be seen as an exercise of such a patience principle.

The *Waspodo* principle is the attitude of alertness, to be alert to bad influences from the outside world. The Javanese are usually very reticent in giving information about personal matters and are reserved and cautious in interpersonal relations. They would rather wait than actively approach someone they do not know. In gatherings they always try to avoid becoming the center of attention, thereby neither exposing themselves nor running the risk of being placed in a vulnerable position.

The *Eling* principle is the attitude of awareness or being conscious of inner drives and emotions thereby enabling the control

of these at all times. Aggressive drives, anger, feelings of hostility, and sadness in particular must be controlled to prevent extroverted behaviour. It is not surprising that Javanese do not like alcoholic drinks, as alcohol may stimulate uncontrollable behaviour.

The Totokromo principle is the Javanese etiquette, although the word "etiquette" only approximates the concept. The attitude, posture, facial and verbal expressions, and behaviour in general are usually controlled by this principle. Traditionally, totokromo was most highly cultivated in aristocratic circles and least cultivated by the rural dwellers. The higher their status in society the more totokromo was cultivated in the family. Today, the inculcation of totokromo in most family circles may be a kind of preservation of old family traditions. The former stratified society greatly stimulated the cultivation of this principle. To point with the thumb rather than with the index finger, how to dress properly, how to walk, how to wear the dagger, are but a few examples of the totokromo principle.

The Kaprajan principle is the preservation of dignity. Javanese have accepted certain standards of behaviour for given situations. Behaviour that goes beyond such standards is regarded as unworthy. To show off in a gathering, to stumble at every trifle when making a contract, or fiercely debating in public, are but a few examples of unworthy behaviour. The Javanese tend to preserve their dignity according to their status in society.

The Andap Asor and Prasajo principles are the attitudes of simplicity and modesty; although again, these are only approximate translations. In a social gathering the Javanese will usually take a seat in the hindmost row, permitting others to occupy the front seats. In walking through a door, he will let his guest pass through the door before himself. He will always give deference to others, especially older people. Clothes are to be kept simple and not striking. These are but a few examples of these principles.

The principles of maintaining a submissive attitude enables the Javanese to accept authority very easily. This may be reinforced by an authoritative father figure in childhood, the highly stratified society, and by a history of three hundred years of colonial rule. The consequence of this attitude are feelings of inferiority and the

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creation of the so-called *bapak-ism* attitude (devotion to the father-symbol or leader of the group).

It is not known with certainty which of the aforementioned were original Javanese principles predating the precolonial period and which were created as a type of defense against the authoritative colonial power. To live and behave in accordance with these principles will always be greatly emphasized in kebatinan groups.

KEBATINAN FOR THE JAVANESE INDIVIDUAL

The belief in a supernatural world with its supernatural beings may stimulate the need for further knowledge of that world and its possible relationship to the natural world of human beings. The common sequence of probing further into problems of kebatinan may be as follows: There is a tendency for the Javanese, particularly the elderly to preoccupy themselves with problems of kebatinan which may be related to childhood experiences. While the spirit and ancestor-worship in childhood (with the *Ramayana* and *Mahabarata* epics of the popular puppet/wayang play as the main preserver of this worship) may influence childhood fantasies, the cultivation of kebatinan may be considered a possible means of fulfilling such childhood fantasies as a desire for: magic power, communication with spirit and ancestors or knowledge about life after death. This desire for kebatinan may be precipitated by the individual's facing insoluble conflicts, particularly feelings of insecurity about the future coupled with a great need for supernatural projection towards a possible irrational solution. Although the problem itself may not be solved, the individual may overcome its emotional component. Further preoccupation is usually accompanied by a tendency to cultivate a uniquely individual frame of kebatinan. With a need for (kebatinan) experience the individual may try to practice meditation, either with or without the guidance of a kebatinan teacher (*guru*), sometimes he may retreat into seclusiveness, visiting the graves of ancestors and other sacred places. Abstinence from all or certain foods or drinks and from sexual relationship as

well as the deprivation of sleep supposedly stimulates kebatinan experience. With the need for expression, the individual may feel that joining a kebatinan movement of the same orientation may be beneficial. In this secure environment, free expression of supernatural experience will be accepted and the individual will receive protection, guidance and control from the group and its spiritual leader. With the need for recognition, he may start a *dukun* (native healing) practice, become a kebatinan teacher himself, or create a kebatinan movement and becoming its spiritual leader. The maintenance of a clear boundary between the supernatural and natural worlds may be important in order to keep in touch with the world of reality. If this boundary fades away, a distortion of reality occurs with a dominant kebatinan frame of orientation. Social functioning may then be disturbed.

The younger people in general seldom preoccupy themselves with kebatinan, however, when overwhelmed by strong inferiority and insecurity feelings, they may ask the help of a *dukun* or kebatinan teacher in obtaining some amulets or supernatural power, or may join a kebatinan movement. For the elderly Javanese, who although generally well tolerated and taken care of by younger family members, may develop feelings of isolation, rejection or other nihilistic feelings, thereby becoming very insecure of their future, due often to the absence of any productive activity. A prior preoccupation with kebatinan activities, may lead them to joining a kebatinan group with possibly very beneficial results.

JAVANESE KEBATINAN MOVEMENTS

Kebatinan movements have always been very active, particularly on Java where given the existence of more than 100 groups they can be found everywhere throughout the island. Most of these groups have branches throughout the country with some having branches in foreign countries. In the pre-World War II period such movements were more or less suppressed but after the war during the period of great turmoil and heightened social tension,

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they greatly accelerated their activities. The number of members varies from a hundred in the smaller to tens of thousands in the larger groups. Some of them tend to be well-organized with formal rules and by-laws. Although there may be a clear division into organizational and spiritual sections, the spiritual leader (usually male) is the accepted leader of the group and is assisted by teachers and guides. The organization is usually controlled by the more sophisticated members of the group, who may become so powerful, that they greatly influence the movement's orientation, often not to the advantage of spiritual aspirations. The membership comes from all levels of society; usually only adult men and women are accepted as members.

The spiritual leader's highly cultivated kebatinan knowledge will be accepted as the movement's kebatinan frame of orientation. He is supposed to have accomplished unity with the deity and is regarded as the personification of their God, through whom God's words will be transmitted. Decisions concerning each individual member will be made by him. Without the member's devotion for their spiritual leader, the existence of the group would be impossible. The leader is actually the binding force of the group, the personification of the omnipotent father figure. For the leader, the formation of a group around him, may fulfill certain psychological and socio-psychological needs. He may enhance his social status in the community, and at the same time have his economic needs cared for by the members. It may also provide an expedient solution for his emotional conflicts, for example, by compensating for feelings of insecurity and inferiority. By receiving devotion and affection from the members, he may, in turn, become entirely dependent on them.

An important Javanese ideal, the so-called *just king* (*ratu adil*), greatly facilitates the creation of spiritual groups, especially in periods of social turmoil. The emphasis on justice may have been stimulated by the past three hundred years of colonial rule and Javanese dissatisfaction with social conditions in general, factors which could easily create the social insecurity and the constant feeling of the ordinary Javanese that he was being treated unjustly. The impressive performance of a spiritual leader and the devotion of his pupils appear to be modeled on the ideal of a *just king*.

The basic concepts of these movements are usually in accord with the Javanese ethical principles. This may be seen as preservation of the traditional Javanese life-style (Javanism). Every member will be expected to live and behave according to these principles.

The exercise of meditation, will be one of the main activities of a kebatinan movement. The word meditation is used here to indicate every deliberate attempt by an individual to produce a special state of mind that is open to supernatural experience, with or without withdrawal of awareness of the environment. With a marked or total withdrawal of awareness of the environment, the meditation may become a trance state. The various groups use different names for their exercises, such as *sujud*, *sembahyang*, *samadi*, *wening*. Each group may have one or more kinds of meditation. Meditation itself is a learning process that passes through various stages. Many movements call meditation a process of purification or maturation. A member will start at the lowest level and, at a time decided by the spiritual leader, will proceed to the next higher level. The member is constantly guided and controlled by the leader's assistants. Certain rituals such as prayers, mantras, burning of incense, etc. may be performed prior to the meditation proper. Abstinence from all or certain foods or drinks and from sexual relationship as well as deprivation of sleep, retreat into seclusion, and visits to graves of ancestors may be suggested occasionally. While rituals prior to meditation may be objects of concentration, abstinence from food and drinks and deprivation of sleep may fatigue the nervous system. The retreat into seclusion and visits to graves of ancestors may create a monotonous environment with a minimum of external stimuli. All these measures serve to facilitate a smoother meditation. The occasional inability to meditate may be seen as an indication of existing emotional conflicts that must be discussed with the teacher afterwards.

According to many kebatinan leaders, at the first stage of the process of purification, the individual will experience a state of regression through childhood until the prenatal state in utero, followed by the experience of rebirth. During the various stages of purification, the individual may obtain supernatural powers such as healing power, clairvoyance, invulnerability from certain weapons etc. If this stage proves so attractive to the individual that he

attempts to cultivate such powers, he is regarded as violating kebatinan rules and will therefore be handicapped in reaching the next stage of purification (fixation) or he may even experience a set back to an earlier stage (regression).

This purification process with the ultimate goal of union *mistique*, may not differ very much from universal mysticism, while cultivation of supernatural powers may be purely magic or occultism. It is not surprising that actually these magic and occult aspects are the most attractive because the knowledge could directly be put into practice with or without financial benefit. Many kebatinan teachers and some kebatinan groups rather lay stress on those aspects, some are actually schools for magic and occultism. Besides, most members of kebatinan groups realize that the purification is an endless process, while perfection could only be attained by the spiritual leader. A peculiar experience with spiritual leaders, the discussion of either their personal, or one of the member's miraculous experiences (usually healing experiences) is in fact concerned with the sphere of magic and occultism, despite the usually strongly rejection of any suggestion that they introduce magic and occultism in their kebatinan activities. Kebatinan movements may function as small religions with their major emphasis on the concrete experience of meditation. Theoretical explanation of philosophical and religious doctrines is kept simple and easily comprehensible. The intellectual content is played down. Many kebatinan movements claim their doctrines only stimulate the individual's religious feelings and strengthen belief in the individual's already accepted religion, and usually deny that their movement is functioning as a religion. Because they are functioning as small religions, the process of the mystical experience may involve an alteration of previously held religious beliefs. The repetition of meditation and the purification process may arouse feelings of guilt, sin and fear, stimulated by feelings of reward or punishment. Some kebatinan movements are well aware of this change. Sometimes dramatic reactions during the so-called period of crisis (also called *evolution* or *cleansing*, by other groups who regard it as a period of punishment), with participants occasionally showing the symptoms of acute psychotic reactions, which may be seen as either the climax of this process of change or as the manifestation of multiple conflicts — among others, a conflict between an individual's existing

religious beliefs and his acceptance of the beliefs of the movement; for non-Javanese, there may be a kind of protest against the process of Javanization, while the mystical experience itself, may arouse intensive fears. With the emotional support and kindly guidance from the teachers, the member may be able to overcome this change-induced crisis.

KEBATINAN MOVEMENTS AND SOCIETY

The government will always be suspicious when new movements are created. This is especially true when these movements internalize the just king attitude, which greatly enhances devotion to the spiritual leader and promotes the fighting spirit of the group. During the pre-World War II period such movements were viewed as a prelude to possible uprising, and nowadays as potential political movements. Therefore, they are usually checked by the government as early as possible. Unfortunately, it is not easy to readily determine whether new movements may have other aspirations beside their spiritual activities. Mystical movements in general are well tolerated by the government as long as their activities are not in conflict with the law and regulations. (especially political activities, amoral and asocial acts). The urban groups tend to operate in more secrecy and usually have less opportunity for extension than the rural groups, which are more open and where whole villages may join the movement. It should be noted, however, that nowadays, those rural kebatinan movements could more easily be controlled by the government than the urban groups.

CONCLUSION

It seems that the main function of the Javanese spiritual groups is to provide a secure environment for the individual when he is

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suffering from emotional conflicts which he is unable to solve, even with the help of the native healers. The group aspects of these movements may be beneficial for the member as long as he does not estrange himself from his family relationships and as long as he is able to fulfill his social obligations in the family setting. Former childhood education with strong emphasis on spirit and ancestor-worship and other old Javanese beliefs may influence both the individual's inclination towards preoccupation and cultivation of kebatinan and his decision to join a spiritual group in adulthood.

The suppression of emotional feelings is a learned attitude and is in accord with the Javanese etiquette and preservation of dignity. This suppression of emotional feelings may create many insoluble emotional conflicts in the individual. The reinforcement of this suppression by the exercise of meditation, with possible discharge of energy-loaded emotions may be a possible way out of dealing with emotional conflicts. On the higher levels of meditation, which potentially can engender an indifferent attitude in interpersonal relationships, many social complications may occur, particularly in family and marital relationships.

The joining of spiritual groups may be most beneficial for the elderly Javanese who may be subject to feelings of isolation or rejection.

Several members of spiritual groups who have exhibited symptoms of psychotic reactions have been seen by psychiatric practitioners. Existing religious beliefs may come in conflict with the philosophical doctrines of the movement, experiences during meditation may create intensive fears, there may be an unconscious protest against the process of Javanization, or the member may be so preoccupied with supernatural thought that it may interfere with his dealing with external reality.

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ELITES IN ADAT VILLAGES OF LAMPUNG AND MINANGKABAU

SOERJONO SOEKANTO

INTRODUCTION

Purpose and concepts

In writing about elites in *adat villages* of Lampung and Minangkabau, the author primarily concerned with a comparative study of indigenous elites, to some extent leaving out of consideration the ruling national elite. The focus of the present inquiry is a study of (political) elites, rather than the forms of polity which these elites have created or helped to create.

The purpose of this study is to obtain a general view of the development of elites' structure in *adat villages* of Lampung as well as of Minangkabau and to find out how far the influences of principles of descent are and what the consequences are in introducing achieved status values, introduced by the present government. This theme is a striking one since Indonesia (like other countries achieving independence after the Second World War) is engrossed in the task of nation building and is also grappled with the fundamental dilemma of trying to introduce new ways of life while preserving ancient values and customs. Thus the conflict between a modern outlook and traditional customs is a basic problem.

For the purposes of this study, it is understood that the term "elite" is used to refer to those positions in a social structure which are superordinate, such that the incumbents claim and are granted social and political superiority. The term is also used to refer to functions attached to such positions, especially the social responsibility to form and defend value-standards in a certain social

sphere. The close relationship between status and function allows us to use the term elite to the combination of high position and special responsibility. An elite, then, is composed of people who by virtue of their position have special responsibility of standards in a given social context.

It is obviously impossible to elaborate an analysis on the whole country of Indonesia because of the time limit involved, scarcity of data, and most important of all, because of the limited academic capability of the writer to cope with such an extended problem. Therefore, the provinces of Lampung and Minangkabau are chosen as an example to introduce some aspects of a larger context, since the writer is more familiar with these regions and because these regions represent two different kinds of principles of descent namely the alternating patrilineal and matrilineal systems. In respect of Lampung, this paper will primarily focus on the inland of Lampung or the *Lampung Pepadon*.

Social structure and social organization of Indonesian Adat villages

There are several criteria which can be used to develop a typology of Indonesian villages. A very important classification is the one based on three main systems of subsistence economics, respectively: sedentary rice cultivation with irrigation, shifting cultivation, and ebb and tide rice cultivation. Villages based on sedentary rice cultivation are mainly located in Java, Bali and a large part of Lombok. Outside those areas, sedentary agriculture with irrigation only forms enclaves in several places in North and West Sumatra, in the coastal areas of Kalimantan, in North and South Sulawesi and in several places in the Moluccas.

Another very important way to classify Indonesian *adat villages* is by considering the principles of relationship underlying their social organizations. Such method of classification suggests two principles of relationship for use in elaborating a typology of *adat villages* in Indonesia, respectively: ties of kinship and ties of proximity of residence, thus distinguishing villages with genealogical organization from those with territorial basis. This method of classification was introduced by a prominent scholar on *adat law*,

B. ter Haar Bzn., in his famous textbook on *adat law* entitled *Beginnelsen en Stelsel van het Adatrecht* (especially on pp. 50—55). Ter Haar's analysis only provides an understanding of villages' social organization which refers to the actual regularity of human interaction, no matter what specific form the interaction may assume. In other words the measure of social interaction is the coordination of inter-individual action through mutual concerns and expectations. In order to get a more clarified scheme, the author will add the social structural aspect to ter Haar's analysis and try to combine both factors. By social structure is understood the interrelationship of social norms, social institutions, social groups and social stratification. By combining the social structure and social organization, we can obtain a more general pattern of Indonesian *adat villages* or *masyarakat hukum adat* which are ordered groups of a permanent character, possessing their own material as well as immaterial property. The term *desa*, which is most widely used for Indonesian villages, is actually a specific name to indicate villages in Java, Madura and Bali.

To clarify the approach, the author will first take into consideration types of *adat villages* based on social structure. According to their social structure, there are three main types of villages, as follows:

1. the singular village or *masyarakat hukum adat tunggal*;
2. the plural village or *masyarakat hukum adat bertingkat*;
3. corporation of villages or *masyarakat hukum adat berangkai*.

The singular village, as for instance the *Desa* of Java, is an autonomous community. It is neither a part of a higher level community, nor is it divided into segments except into local administrative units called *Dukuh*. On the other hand, a plural village like the *Nagari* and *Suku* of Minangkabau, is an autonomous village divided into self-governing units, resembling the *Kuria* as the higher level community in Tapanuli and the *Hula* as its segment. Corporation of villages represents communities united by certain common interests such as irrigation, defence etc. A typical example is the *Subak* of Bali which represents an indigenous corporation of villages based on paddy field irrigation.

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Based on social organization, there are three types of villages, namely:

1. the territorial village
2. the genealogical village
3. the genealogical-territorial village

The territorial village is an autonomous community in which the territorial factor concerning a defined area is significant. These kinds of villages are numerous in the archipelago, such as the *Desa* of Java, Madura and Bali, the *Gampong* of Aceh, and others. Communities in which only the genealogical factor is significant are rare and unimportant. A typical example of such communities are the *Belah* of Gayo.

Both factors, the genealogical and the territorial, dominate such villages as the *Nagari* and *Suku* of Minangkabau, the *Kuria* and *Huta* of Tapanuli, the *Marga* and *Tiyuh* of Lampung, and others. In this case it is important to study both factors with respect to local situations. But first of all it is relevant to study principles of descent as a factor of integration in genealogical as well as in genealogical-territorial villages. Principles of descent can be distinguished into four systems as follows:

1. the patrilineal system
2. the alternating patrilineal system
3. the matrilineal system, and
4. the bilateral system.

The first, second as well as the third are usually called the unilineal system which is based on genealogical groups called clans. The existence of a clan is primarily based on exogamous marriage. By the patrilineal system is understood the reckoning of common descent from one common male ancestor along the male line by means of which membership in kingroups are determined. The *Batak* of Tapanuli is an extreme example.

The alternating patrilineal system is actually patrilineally oriented, but occasionally women appear along the line of descent.

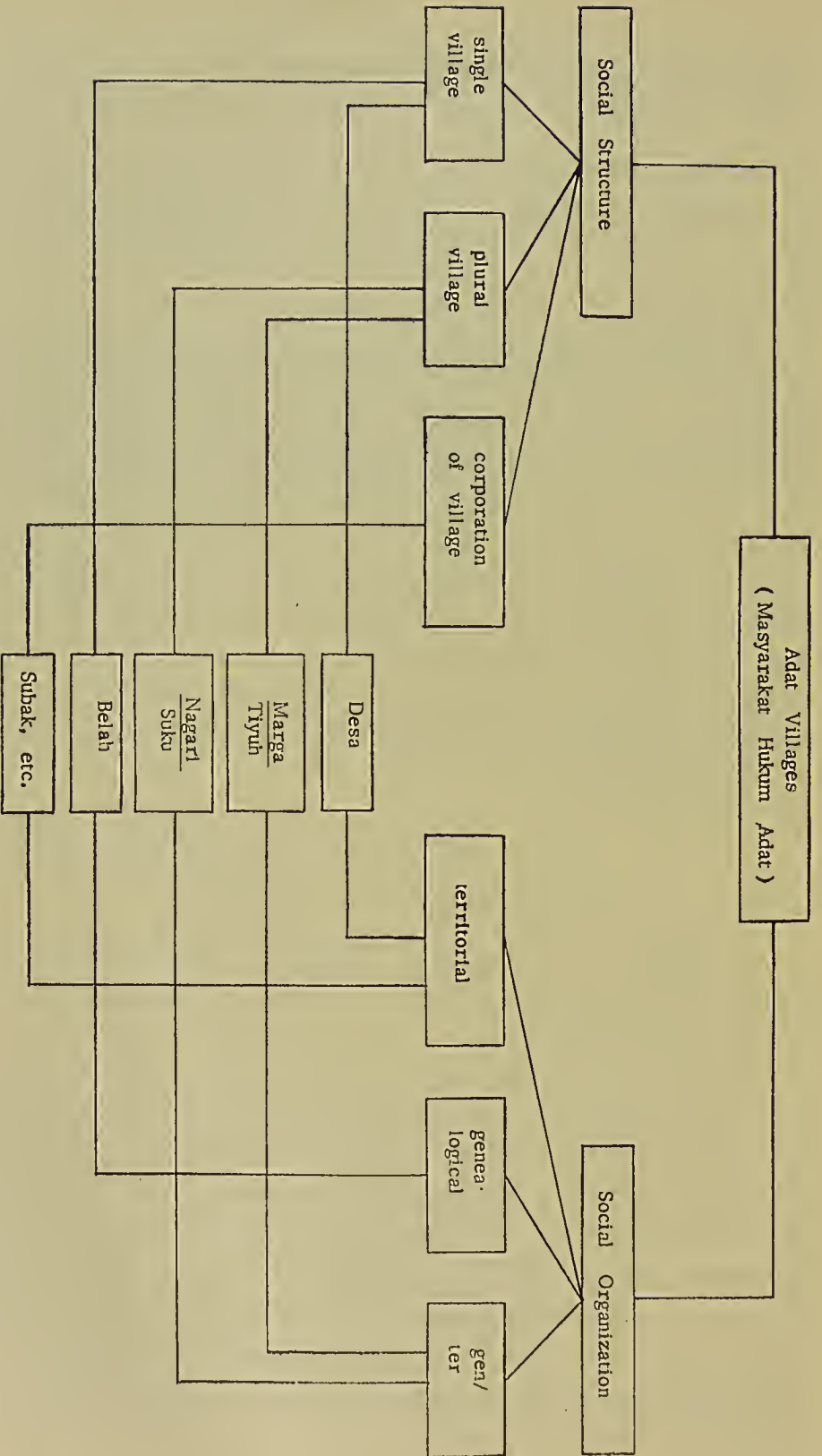
It depends on the form of marriage in correlation with inheritance systems. This system dominates the Rejang and the Lampung.

The Minangkabau of West Sumatra, is an extreme example maintaining the matrilineal system. The system is based on descent along the female line. A female ancestor is the important unit in legal relations.

The bilateral system depends upon the male line as well as the female line. In fact, there are two kinds of bilateral systems in Indonesia, the one, which is common among the Dyak of Kalimantan, resulting certain tribes because of endogamous marriage practices, the other, which is highly developed among the Javanese, is just an indicator of relationship by means of the male line as well as the female line. Especially in villages, the Javanese do not stress the principle of descent (except in conflicts such as concerning division of property in inheritance, which rarely take place); because the factor of unification among the Javanese is primarily tied with residence. Among the Javanese, one's nuclear family is far more important than the extended family.

If we put the two categories together, namely the social structure and the social organization, a clear picture can be obtained as shown in the following scheme. (See page 54).

An example will be given to elaborate the above mentioned method of dealing with Indonesian *adat villages*. The village in Lampung is structurally divided into two parts vertically, namely the *Marga* which is the higher level community and the *Tiyuh* which is a self-governing part of the *Marga*. So far the *Marga* and *Tiyuh* is a plural village. If we examine its social organization, each *Tiyuh* has its own territory within the *Marga* and the *Tiyuh* itself contains several patrilocal and matrilineal extended families. The social organization fits the genealogical-territorial village. If we put every village in Indonesia in that way as described previously, one can get a clear understanding and he can proceed examining other aspects such as marriage, inheritance, political systems, elites, land law, etc.



ELITES IN ADAT VILLAGES OF LAMPUNG
AND MINANGKABAU

Social structure and social organization

According to its history and character, the social structure and social organization of the *Lampung Pepadon* are based on genealogical factors (eq alternating-patrilineal), while the territorial factor is an epiphenomenon. The largest genealogical organization is the *kebuayan* or *buay*. The territory of a *kebuayan* is called *marga* (or *merga*, *mego*); a *marga* consists of several *tiyuh* (or *anek*, *pekon* or usually *kampung*), which are inhabited by a *suku* which is a sub-clan. These *suku* consist of several extended families called *canki* which comprise some nuclear families called *nuwo*. The *nuwo* inhabit a plot of land which is called *umbul* or *umbulan*. In conclusion, the delineation of the *Lampung Pepadon* social structure and social organization is as follows;

Genealogical Organization

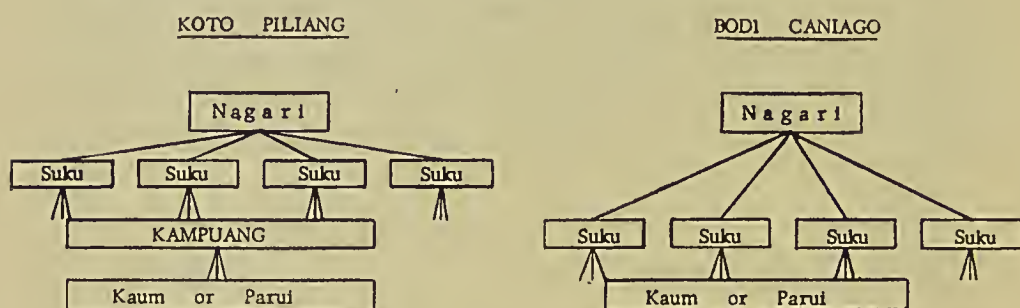
Territory



Minangkabau, which lies on the west coast of Sumatra, is one of the most Islamized regions in Indonesia which is highly matrilineal in respect to its social organization. In examining its social structure and social organization, one should distinguish the *Koto Piliang* from the *Bodi Caniago* system¹⁾, but before examining the difference, first of all we have to deal with the elements of the

1) On the legend of these two political systems, see; Bahar Dt Nagari Basa, *Tambo dan Silsilah Adat alam Minangkabau*, Penerbit CV Eleonora, Payakumbuh, 1966, pp. 22, etc.

whole context. The matrilineal extended family is called *kaum* or *parui*, though the *parui* may also be composed of a number of separate *kaum*. Several *parui* comprise a *suku* which is in *Bodi Caniago* a sub-clan. Within the *Koto Piliang* system, the sub-clan is called *kampung* and several *kampung* form a *suku* which is a federation of sub-clans. The apex of both systems is the *nagari* which has its own territory within the *Koto Piliang* as well as the *Bodi Caniago*. The difference is that the *suku* of the *Koto Piliang* have no territory, while on the other hand some *suku* of the *Bodi Caniago* have territories; others have none. The following scheme will provide a clear delineation.



The indigenous concept of Leadership

Since elites can be conceived as those incumbents who are granted social and political superiority, we can consider them as leaders of a certain social group. Indonesian indigenous people have to some extent a similar world-outlook, that is a belief in the parallelism between the natural universe and the world of men. The community is regarded as being constantly influenced by natural forces; a ruler or a leader is believed to be the incarnation of a God and to have magical or mystical properties which enable him to contact the natural forces and their divine representations. Thus, the elite is in a position to mediate between these forces and his subjects and to secure harmony between them. The natural forces are believed to incarnate within the elite: their subjects believe that they have a certain charisma.

The elite is supposed to act as a father of the whole community and according to the Minangkabau, the elite is symbolized as a big tree in the middle of a field, where people take shelter during the rain, where people can shade against the sunshine, on whose roots people can rest and on whose trunk people can lean¹⁾.

The Lampung have their own concept of leadership which is not very different from the Minangkabau idea. They believe that a leader should have the following characteristics:

- a. *pi'il pesengiri* (a high morality)
- b. *sakai sambaiyan* (cooperation)
- c. *nemui nyimah* (humbleness and helpfulness)
- d. *nengah nyappur* (creativeness).
- e. *bujuluk bu-adek* (just and orderly)

If we compare the aforementioned concepts with the Javanese concept of leadership, similarities will appear, although the Javanese concept is more concrete. The Javanese image of a good leader embraces three vital elements as follows:

1. *Ing ngarsa sung tulodo*, which means that a leader should act as an example to his subjects, which implies that he has to be a front leader.
2. *Ing madya abangun karsa*, implies the meaning that as a social leader, a leader is supposed to be among his people and to encourage them.
3. *Tut wuri handayani* means that as a rear-leader, a leader follows his subjects while stimulating.

The above mentioned concepts reflect the outlook of Indonesian people who regard their leaders or their elites as their guardians. This outlook is still preserved to this day, as for instance regional administrators are called *Pamong Praja* (*Pamong Praja* means those who act as the guardians of the state; *Pamong* derives from the Javanese term *among* which means to guard)..

1) The Minangkabau used to say that their elite are: "Bak Baringin Di tengah Koto, Ureknyo Tampak Baselo, Batangnya Tampak Basanda; Daunnya tempat Batadueh Kahujan, Tampak Balindueng Kapanasan". see; Darwis Thalib Dt. Sidi Bandaro: *Seluk Beluk Adat Minangkabau*, bahagian I "Cupak Usali", N.V. Nusantara, Bukittinggi - Jakarta, 1967, p. 13.

The Elite

1. Lampung Pepadon

The elite as leaders of a certain social group, is called the *proatin* (*adat*) among the *Lampung Pepadon*. The *proatin* is a council composed of adat-chiefs who have the title of *penyimbang*¹⁾. One can find the *proatin* on each level of the community's social structure and organization. In order to obtain a clear scheme of how this system works out, it is advantageous to explore how this *proatin* is formed.

On the *tiyuh* and *suku* level, the council of elites is called *proatin tiyuh* which consists of several *penyimbang canki* and *penyimbang suku*. The council is always named *proatin tiyuh* to indicate the significance of the territorial element, while the title of a *penyimbang* is always related to the genealogical factor. But actually, to become a *penyimbang suku*, one does not have to be the direct off-spring of the *buay*'s male ancestor. Aside from this, to become a *penyimbang*, one should perform a ritual called *gawi* to obtain the *pepadon*²⁾, which is the legitimacy base of his leadership. The function of this ritual is as an announcement to people and as an indicator of one's economic status, because a lot of money is spend to perform this *gawi*. The *proatin tiyuh* is conducted by the oldest *penyimbang suku* who acts as a *primus inter pares*. The jurisdiction of this council is mainly stressed on public and private affairs within its own territory. If this council fails to cope with regional affairs, then the problem will be settled by a higher level council called the *proatin marga* which comprises several *penyimbang asal*. Aside from traditional rituals one has to perform to pursue this position, he has to prove that he is an off-spring of the ancestor of the clan. All *penyimbang* are men and this position is bequeathed to the first-born son. If a certain *penyimbang* has only daughters or no off-spring at all, then this problem is settled by a *semendo* marriage or adoption³⁾.

1) *Penyimbang* means to succeed or to judge, thus implying that leadership is based on inheritance through alternating patrilineal line and that he is considered as a father of the community.

2) *Pepadon* is a carved wooden chair which is the attribute of a *penyimbang*.

3) The *semendo* marriage is matrilocal. It means that the husband's duty is only as a custodian of the property and to proceed it to his male off-spring. The off-spring of this marriage reckons only to the female line, namely to their mother.

The upper class elites of Lampung Adat villages are based primarily on kinship and secondly on economic status. A *penyimbang asal* who cannot afford a *gawi* because of economic circumstances, can never attain membership of the *proalin*. But to respect his status as a direct off-spring of the clan's ancestor, he is still honored by people and is entitled to bear the *penyimbang tuho* title.

The middle class elites rely more on the economic status. Everybody claiming to have established a *tjuh* can promote himself as *penyimbang suku* by performing a ritual and by halving the *pepadon* (= *belah pepadon*) of his former *penyimbang suku*.

2. Minangkabau

The village community in Minangkabau is comprised of family groups which are autonomous units with regard to economic, social and political matters. Each family group (= *kaum* or *parui*) elects a leader who is called *penghulu andiko* who represents the family group in the village council. This system is common within the *Bodi Caniago* which is based on egalitarian principles in the sense that the *nagari* of this system is ruled by a group of *penghulu* as the representatives of their respectively family groups.

The *Koto Piliang* recognizes the position of a chief (*puncak*) as the *primus inter pares*. The village council is comprised of several *penghulu andiko* and *penghulu suku* and it is assumed to be more autocratic.

One of the widespread myths about the Minangkabau describes their society as democratic, as revealed by the saying "*tagak samo tinggi, duduk samo randah*". A closer examination on the Minangkabau adat villages is advantageous, especially with respect to the elite. As a consequence of the matrilineal system, new born individuals automatically become members of their mother's group.

Aliens, who have come to settle in a particular *nagari* are allowed to become members of an existing *suku*, depending on the *suku* affiliation of the individual who is willing to accept them as his *kemanakan* (niece or nephew). Although such a situation assumes to give every member of the community an opportunity to voice his opinion, make decisions and representation on the village council, the *adat* actually classifies people according to their rights and duties in such a way that distinct social classes emerge. This

classification is based on nephews and nieces on the matrilineal line of a *mamak*, who is the head of a matrilocal extended family. The *adat* recognizes the following types of *kemanakan*:

1. *kemanakan bertali darah*; are those known as blood relatives;
2. *kemanakan bertali adat*; or alien individuals who have been accepted as members of a family group because they want to settle down;
3. *kemanakan bertali emas*; individuals who have to settle temporarily because of their debts;
4. *kemanakan di bawah lutut*; who are descendants of slaves.

The upper class or the elite, consists of those who have the right to elect a *penghulu* or to be elected as such and includes all *penghulu* and their immediate blood relatives (*kemanakan bertali darah*). The other social class, on the whole enjoying fewer rights and less power, consists of the remaining members of a village community, those who are not the *kemanakan bertali darah* of any *penghulu*. Thus one can draw the conclusion, that the elite's legitimacy is based on kinship and on election, both within the *Bodi Caniago* as well as *Koto Piliang* systems.

CONCLUSION

The previous description of *adat* elites gives a broad outline of the indigenous legitimacy of elites. This does not discern that the *adat* elite's structure is not influenced by external factors. Historical data obviously explain that Lampung was ruled by Banten and the Dutch, while Minangkabau was also ruled by the Dutch. An intensive examination of external factors is inappropriate within the context of this short paper, but certain reflections will be useful, to obtain a more complete scheme until post revolutionary times.

Banten as well as the Dutch maintained the aristocratic character of *Lampung Pepadon* villages, but taking over for

themselves the apex of the pyramid of power and retaining at the second and third echelons of authority that considerable portion of the indigenous, elites willing to work with and under them. This situation was also evident in Minangkabau after the Dutch settled permanently at the beginning of the Paderi War in the 1820's. Because Dutch economic objectives demanded that new and additional burdens be placed on peasants, it enlarged and strengthened the power of the cooperating elements of the elites vis-à-vis the peasantry. Vis-à-vis the Dutch authority the position of the indigenous elites became weaker, but in its relationship to the peasantry it became strengthened. The central role of the elites as agents of the Dutch was to ensure that the indigenous population of their areas delivered them a large proportion of their crops. This situation was changed after independence.

The Lampung province, then as a part of the province of South Sumatra, was divided into *negeri* as a preparation to create a third level autonomous region. The *negeri* consists of *marga* and transmigrants' enclaves, headed by the so-called *kepala negeri* who is assisted by a *negeri* council (*dewan negeri*). This council consists of *penyimbang suku* who are appointed through election and candidates who are not necessary from the *penyimbang* class, elected by people. The *kepala negeri* is appointed by the government and is chosen from the most influential *penyimbang asal*. In this case we can see that the government is trying to amalgamate the traditional structure with the *Desa* structure and organization from Java. The legitimacy of the elite is not only based on kinship and economic status, but also on election.

In Minangkabau, the institution of *wali negeri* was introduced by the government. The *wali negeri* who is nominated and elected by voting inhabitants of the *nagari* for a term of three years, is regarded as the representative of the *nagari* community, by the government. To him is delegated some administrative authority which is the right of the government. But actually, if the respective *wali negeri* is not a functionary on the basis of traditional *adat* he will be powerless, because in enforcing instructions from the government he is forced to seek the approval of the existing traditional *nagari* functionaries.

In conclusion, the following general statements can be made:

1. Until present times, the legitimacy of elites in Lampung as well as in Minangkabau are still based on kinship.
2. In imposing new norms, the government faces more crucial problems in Minangkabau than in Lampung, because in respect to the latter, leadership by achievement was developed since long before independence. (especially among the *penyimbang suku*).
3. In respect to traditional *adat villages* especially in Lampung and Minangkabau, the present government has to face the ambiguity between formal and informal leadership, the former being a government official and the latter a traditional leader.
4. the role of the government as an agent of change is to organize *adat villages* on a nationwide basis, emphasizing the goals and needs of the entire nation, rather than those of a specific community. As a consequence not much consideration can be given to regional needs and peculiarities. If this is somehow necessary, care should be strictly taken that it will do no harm in respect to the interests of the state. In respect to *adat villages*, the formal elites may take the position of the government with all its legal authority regardless their basis of legitimacy, which place the elite on a delicate position vis-à-vis the community. In this case the government should decide to have its agencies act as educators or that they take the roles of passive consultants, for the time being. By and large, this policy will train the community to accept formal leaders as their elites.

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EXPERIENCES IN[†]

RECORDING PANTUN SUNDA^{*}

Ajip ROSIDI

A number of Pantun Sunda or Sundanese pantun stories were compiled and published at the instruction of K.F. Holle and C.M. Pleyte towards the end of the last and the beginning of this century, however, since that time few attempts have been made to continue their programme. To the best of the author's knowledge only one pantun story has been transcribed and published in the post World War II era, namely *Ratu Bungsu Karma Jaya* (The Youngest King Karma Jaya) which was chanted by the Kuningan pantun bard Taswan and transcribed by R.S. Wirananggapati¹).

It is said that a man called Mochtar Kala inherited a collection of *Pantun Bogor* from his ancestors, these were supposedly transcribed in the pre World War era, however, only one part of

*) Pantun Sunda is a form of West Javanese art in which a musical instrument called *pantun*, a kind of *kecap* (a string instrument played by plunking) is used. With the accompaniment of the *kecap* or at times also the flute or a *torawangsa* (a string instrument played like a violin) or other instruments a pantun bard narrates a story centring on the adventures of a prince from Pajajaran, a pre-Islamic Kingdom which existed in West Java until the beginning of the sixteenth century. The narration presented in verse is chanted throughout the night from around 7.30 p.m. until 4.30 a.m. or just before daybreak. For more on the pantun see F.S. Eringa *Loetoeng Kasaroeng, een mythologisch verhaal uit West Java*, Verhandeligen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde (Loetoeng Kasaroeng, a mythological story from West Java, Proceedings of the Royal Institute of Philosophy, Geography and Ethnology), Volume VIII, the Hague; 1949; page 1—7.

1) Firma Dana Guru, Jakarta, 1961, page 129. With an introduction by R. Satjadibrata.

a pantun story, namely *Dadap Malang di Sisi Simandiri*¹⁾, has ever been published.

For the above reason even when the Sundanese people talk of pantun they refer to material originating from Pleyte and Holle. Such also was the case when Drs. Atja corrected Pleyte's version of the *Lutung Kasarung*²⁾ as transcribed by Argosasmita.

Due to the many changes presently taking place in Sundanese society the basis from which pantun derived its significance as a manifestation of art and ritual is quickly disappearing. In particular the increasing influence of urbanism on the Sundanese life style is rapidly altering both their attitude to and the significance of pantun in their lives.

Influenced by a rational, economic and practical outlook the ritual, religious and magical significance of the pantun is gradually decreasing. The pantun is no longer a ritual related to the life cycle of man but rather it has become merely a form of recreation. As such it is particularly adapted to agrarian life as is most clearly evident in its close relationship with the ritual of rice planting as explained by Eringa³⁾. Pantun chanting is held on the nights after harvesting and before seasonal work on the paddy fields has to be resumed for the coming crop thereby avoiding the period in which the peasants must work during the daytime.

As Sundanese society adjusts to the norms of bureaucratic life it is felt that all night performances such as pantun chanting and *wayang golek* (wooden puppets) shows are no longer suitable. Efforts have therefore been made to limit the duration of wayang golek shows (initiated by R.O. Partasuanda) and pantun chanting

1) Firma Badan Penerbit Mangle, Bogor, without indication of year of publication (1964?), Volume I, p. 100. Mochtar Kala in this publication uses the name Rakean Minda Kalangan. Upon examination of the manuscript it was found to contain many words which were unknown to the Sundanese until after the Japanese occupation. Its structure also differs from that of pantuns in general, in that, there are fewer of the repetitions which characterize folklore.

2) The manuscript by Angasasmita, the official in charge of a coffee store-house, is written in Javanese characters, and kept in the Jakarta Central Museum (Sundanese manuscript no. 113). This manuscript was transcribed again by Drs. Atja, using the Latin alphabet, but not yet published. According to his information, the text published by Pleyte contained many mistakes in the transcription.

3) F.S. Eringa, thesis no. 2, in *Loetoeng Kasaroeng; een mythologisch verhaal uit West Java*. (Loetoeng Kasaroeng, a mythological story from West Java), dissertation, *op. cit.*

(initiated by Bcton alias Wikatmana) to such a length that they will no longer interfere with the following day's work.

As a recreation form pantun is out of tune with the times being neither lively nor dynamic, it is too serene. The audience must passively attend what is often considered the boring and monotonous story and melody of the bard's chanting. The result has been an increasing attraction towards more lively art forms: wayang golok performances, reog (comical reviews), musical bands and so forth. With the spread of transistor radios to remote villages pantun has been increasingly abandoned to the older people who maintain their emotional attachment to the ancient stories or perhaps only to the past. The remaining pantun bards are generally of an advanced age with little if any interest in fulfilling this role among the younger generation. The result is that the declining number of pantun bards are to be found increasingly only in the remote villages.

Of those who remain in the cities compromise is an almost universal feature generally taking the form of the addition of new elements such as *kawih* (a kind of Sundanese song), *pasinden* (female singer), or possibly even the use of *gamelan* music for accompaniment.

Thus the focus of pantun presentations has shifted from the story as chanted by the bard to the recreational value of the female singers with the bard's role often reduced to intermittent narratives or joke telling.

Such pantun bards have been engaged by the Bandung radio network thereby introducing their counterparts even in remote villages to this bad example.

Faced with this situation the author felt compelled to undertake the immediate recording of Sundanese pantuns and other folklore to prevent their complete loss in the not too distant future.

Initial hopes of a Government undertaking in this area proved ill-founded due largely to the currently unfavourable economic conditions of the country. Finally as the result of assistance received from Prof. Dr. A. Teeuw through the Royal Institute for Philosophy, Geography and Ethnology in Leiden we were able to commence the recording programme — such was the beginning of the activities of *Proyek Penelitian Pantun dan Folklor Sunda* (Research Project of Sundanese Pantun and Folklore).

THE PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

The first problem encountered was in contacting the pantun bards as there was no information as to their availability in West Java at any of the institutes. Even the Regional Office for Cultural Development which issues cards to artists¹⁾ was unable to extend much assistance due to their general lack of interest in pantun bards.

A request by the author to the Chief of the Bandung Office to compile a comprehensive list of pantun bards in West Java resulted in the distribution of many forms which were to be filled out then completed by the Office for Cultural Development in each *kabupaten* (regency). However, from the twenty-six *kabupatens* only five completed forms were returned and examination of these provided no guarantee of their correctness. Utilizing other sources a list was finally compiled of pantun bards not appearing on *kabupaten* returns.

It became apparent that direct investigation was necessary involving the examination of every name and piece of information received.

Many names submitted turned out not to be true pantun bards at all due often to the fact that very few Sundanese today really understand what pantun means.

Many of those initially thought real pantun bards on recording proved to chant with the "new style"— i.e. they had adjusted their style in line with current public tastes, and were therefore of no use for our research purposes.

Meanwhile there were old pantun bards who stubbornly refused to come to Bandung or Jakarta for recording while still others refused to be recorded at all. Such problems had to be overcome by whatever means were available. At times either the author or an associate had to travel to bards often located in remote areas with the result that recordings were often less than satisfying and

¹⁾ The Office for Cultural Development in many *kabupatens* and cities in Java issues a card for artists obligatory for those living in the respective areas. Artists not in the possession of such a card are not permitted to perform. In order to obtain such a card the artist must pay a fee and to perform he must pay a further fee to the official in charge at the Office for Cultural Development, who also inspects the cards.

at times due to the limited abilities of those in charge of the tape recorder completely new performances had to be arranged.

After completing the recordings we had to begin the process of transcribing and here we encountered a new set of difficulties. Dialects were often used which differed markedly from the language generally spoken, some words were difficult to grasp while others were disconnected one from the other, still others were distorted or no longer recognizable.

It would of course be advisable to contact the bard again after transcription had been completed in order to check it for exactness, however, this method appeared impractical and at present not even feasible. To verify a single pantun story which took one full night to record would take days of consistent work which because of other commitments on the authors time was impossible particularly where such verification involved a journey to the pantun bard's often remote village. It also proved impossible in many cases to convince the bard to travel to Bandung for this purpose due both to their other village responsibilities and also because of the necessity to provide financial compensation which was beyond the capacity of the project.

The project faces a dilemma: should we collect as many pantun stories as possible before they are subjected to further distortion even though we recognize that this will result in certain shortcomings, or should we aim at a more limited but higher standard coverage. Due to the time-consuming, more expensive and concentrated nature of the latter course coupled with the author's somewhat amateur standing in this field, we felt that this method was not a real possibility.

What is needed is for somebody to accept a full time responsibility in this field, however, it is difficult to find anybody willing to do consistently a job which, it should be recognized, may often be boring, entailing full nights without sleep followed by day after day of listening to and transcribing the tapes.

In addition our experience taught us not to expect too much clarification from the pantun bards themselves concerning the meaning of words because generally they only memorize the words and sentences without attempting to understand them.

PUBLICATION

Throughout the study we were faced with general apathy not only from local inhabitants but also from others from whom more was expected. In developing countries where people are infatuated by modernization, efforts to record folklore are considered irrelevant to the real demands of life. Only a select group of scientists and scientific institutes have shown interest in this programme, however, financial assistance cannot be expected from them. Due to the existing conditions for social scientists in Indonesia together with the financial incompetence of our scientific institutes this project has submitted its publications to them free of charge or at a minimal cost.

In the author's opinion such programmes can only be suitably realized in developing countries through international cooperation. Full time workers must be paid salaries sufficient to provide the sense of security essential to the successful fulfillment of their task.

In addition adequate facilities and equipment are crucial, recordings must be conducted by experts in a room insulated against outside noises and the final recordings preserved appropriately in well controlled temperatures.

In the realities of the author's project such precautions were a mere dream. Recordings were conducted in a rented house in Bandung where matted bamboo walls allowed the voices of passing peddlers to be included on the tapes¹).

The establishment of a project as outlined above could serve as a pilot scheme for folklore recording in other areas. Ideally such tasks should be conducted by people native to the respective areas thereby providing the emotional attachment required for continued enthusiasm. Native workers could also overcome the various technical difficulties closely related to the cultural background, beliefs and characteristics of the regions.

¹) In Indonesian cities food vendors sell their wares along the streets while shouting or producing other sounds such as clattering on plates or other such objects. Each kind of food is indicated by a particular sound.

SOME PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

The difficulties confronted in obtaining accurate information concerning the location of pantun bards prevented the implementation of a systematic kabupaten to kabupaten recording as was originally planned. To date recordings have been conducted with two pantun bards from the kabupaten of Kuningan, one from Sumedang, five from Bandung, one from Subang, two from Purwakarta, two from Sukabumi and two from Lebak (Baduy), further a pantun bard from the kabupaten of Sumedang died in a traffic accident on his way to Bandung for the recording.

From each pantun bard at least one story was recorded and if he was found to be a good chanter he was requested to record others, particularly those of a specific nature or one of those not previously recorded. To date twenty-seven pantun stories have been recorded eighteen of which have been transcribed and fourteen published. Not all stories recorded are considered worthy of transcription and not all transcriptions worthy of publication.

From progress made to date several preliminary conclusions may be stated.

Pantun bards from Bandung are both the most influenced and the most susceptible to influence by the pantuns — Beton style — as broadcast through the radio. Pantun bard Beton (Wikatmana) himself is a native of the Bandung kabupaten.

Nevertheless the influence of radio broadcast is also discernable in a number of pantun bards from other kabupaten with the exception of those from Baduy who absolutely reject such changes. In fact the pantun in Baduy community still serves a sacred function.

It was also found that the pantun stories exhibited remarkable similarities in pattern and phraseology particularly between those of Kuningan and Baduy or Sukabumi as compared with stories from other kabupaten. Such similarities are all the more surprising when it is realized that geographically these kabupaten are situated respectively in the most eastern and western parts of West Java separated by other kabupaten.

EXPERIENCES IN RECORDING PANTUN SUNDA

Despite these similarities (particularly in the formulation of magic) there also exists certain differences indicative not only of local variations but also of the individual characteristics of the pantun bards. Within the pantun stories of Ki Aceng Tamadipura and Ki Kamal are discernable certain features reflecting individual creativity such as in Ki Aceng Tamadipura's story where the influence of the bard's childhood education in a Madrasah (religious school) is clearly manifested.

Further divisions are also present in the pantun bard's assesment of the relative sacredness of the various pantun stories regardless of the bard's origin. Experts to date have accepted Lutung Kasarung as the most sacred of these, however, Ki Sajin (from Lebak, Baduy) believes this to be of no particular significance being roughly equivalent to those of *Paksi Koling* and *Buyut Orenyeng*. He believes the *Gajah Lumantang*, a story unknown in areas outside Baduy¹) to be the most sacred. However, this appears merely a reflection of the lack of consensus on sacredness in an absolute sense even within the "pantun area".

The above conclusions reveal to the author a new aspect of pantuns (and other folklore) in traditional society.

Rather than being a rigid product inherited and memorized from earlier generations they appear to provide sufficient flexibility to enable variations of both a local and individual nature. However, this implied openness to outside influences suggests the question — to what extent have the original elements persisted ?

Variations in the pantuns are not only evident in the story or phraseology but also in the melody (the music) which may have a totally local character. If we compare the melody chanted by the Baduy pantun bard Ki Sajin with that of Ki Kamal from Kuningan we notice striking differences within the same story.

¹) The story was published by J.J. Meijer in "*Badoeische Pantunverhalen*". Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, BKI. (Baduy Pantun Stories, Contribution to the Philology, Geography and Ethnology of the Netherlands East Indies) Volume 40, the Hague, 1891, p. 45.

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Faced with this fact we may be forced to reconsider the earlier widespread belief that regards the pantun as being closely associated to the distant Pajajaran era. While this art form was most probably known at this time it may have differed significantly in its storytelling or song presentation.

It may be that the Baduy pantun bard's presentation should be considered as the most original form inherited from the Pajajaran period especially given that the Baduy community has traditionally been felt to be the most closed society vis-à-vis outside influences since the time of its separation from Pakuan Pajajaran.

To assess this possibility a separate multivarious study should be conducted focusing not only on the literary aspects of the community but also on its music, architecture, clothing and other such features.

CONCLUSIONS

What is required is a broadly based study covering as many of the kabupatens as possible and continuing over an extended period of time. By maximising the number of samples thereby taken it would enable comparative studies to be conducted on both a time series and cross-section basis. Simultaneously it would provide useful documentation which could be used to enumerate not only the existing regional differences but also the continuing direction of change.

In view of the fact that pantun embraces not only music but also phraseology, its study requires the cooperation of experts in both of these fields. The results of transcriptions will be useful not only to philological and lexicographical studies but also to those related to ancient Sundanese beliefs, tradition, laws, architecture and so forth. To guarantee optimal results from recordings, the utilization of professional expertise is an essential prerequisite.

APPENDIX

LIST OF PANTUN STORIES RECORDED AND PUBLISHED BY THE RESEARCH PROJECT OF SUNDANESE PANTUN AND FOLKLORE.

There are 30 pantun story titles which were recorded by Eringa¹⁾, most of which still belong to the collection of pantun stories of pantun bards contacted for recording by the Research Project of Sundanese Pantun and Folklore. The research emphasized the recording of stories which have never been mentioned earlier in addition to those which have been recorded and published. To date the following pantun stories have been recorded, a number of which have been transcribed, while others again have been published:

1. DEMUNG KALAGAN by Ki Kamal (Kuningan), transcribed and published (series no. 1)
2. LUTUNG LUTIK by Ki Kamal (Kuningan), transcribed
3. KEMBANG PANYARIKAN by Ki Kamal (Kuningan), transcribed
4. LUTUNG KASARUNG by Ki Kertawiguna (Kuningan), not to be transcribed or published (E)
5. MUNDINGLAYA DI KUSUMAH by Ki Aceng Tamadipura (Sumedang), transcribed and published (series no. 2), (E)
6. SRI SADANA or SULANYANA by Ki Aceng Tamadipura (Sumedang), transcribed and published (series no. 3), (E)
7. RINGGIT SARI by Ki Aceng Tamadipura (Sumedang), transcribed
8. PANGGUNG KARATON by Ki Aceng Tamadipura (Sumedang), transcribed and published (series no. 9), (E)
9. BUDAK MANJOR by Ki Aceng Tamadipura (Sumedang), transcribed and published (series no. 12), (E) Ki Manjor and Nyi Gendruk
10. CIUNG WANARA by Ki Aceng Tamadipura (Sumedang), transcribed but unfinished due to failure of recording (damaged), (E)

¹⁾ F.S. Eringa, *Loetoeng Kasaroeng, een mythologisch verhaal uit West Java*. (Loetoeng Kasaroeng, a mythological story from West Java), *op. cit.* Stories mentioned in that list are here indicated with (E)

11. *NYI SUMUR BANDUNG* by Ki Enjum (Bandung), transcribed and published (series no. 4), (E)
12. *SENJAYA GURU* (version I) by Ki Enjum (Bandung), transcribed but may not be published
13. *SENJAYA GURU* (version II) by Ki Enjum (Bandung), transcribed and not yet published
14. *RANGGA KATIMPAL* by Ki Otang (Bandung), not to be transcribed nor published
15. *MUNDING WANGI* by Ki Hamami (Bandung), not to be transcribed nor published
16. *CIUNG WANARA* by Ki Subarma (Bandung), transcribed and published (series no. 14), (E)
17. *MUNDING KAWATI* by Ki Atma (Subang), transcribed and published (series no. 10)
18. *GANTANGAN WANGI* by Ki Asom (Purwakarta), transcribed
19. *JAYA MANGKURAT* by Ki Nasir Supandi (Purwakarta), may not be transcribed nor published
20. *PERENGGONG JAYA* by Ki Samid (Sukabumi), transcribed and published (series no. 6)
21. *RADEN TANJUNG* by Ki Samid (Sukabumi), transcribed and published (series no. 8)
22. *BADAK PAMALANG I* by Ki Samid (Sukabumi), transcribed and published (series no. 10), (E)
23. *BADAK PAMALANG II* by Ki Samid (Sukabumi), transcribed and published (series no. 10A), (E)
24. *LUTUNG KASARUNG* by Ki Sajin (Lebak, Baduy), transcribed and published (series no. 13), (E) this version shows a marked difference
25. *BUYUT ORENYENG* by Ki Sajin (Lebak, Baduy), not yet transcribed
26. *PAKSI KELING* by Ki Tanci (Lebak, Baduy), not yet transcribed, (E)
27. *DALIMA WAYANG* by Ki Ating (Tegalpanjang, Sukabumi), not yet transcribed
28. *RADEN MANGPRANGJAYA DI KUSUMAH* by Ki Asom (Purwakarta)

WAYANG PURWA

PANDAM GURITNO

WHAT IS WAYANG PURWA ?

Wayang Purwa, the most popular of the Indonesian performing arts, is here defined as "that form of performing art in which flat leather puppets are used, in the presentation of a repertoire which initially came from the Hindu epics: the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*". This definition consists of two parts, separated by a comma. The first part of the definition distinguishes *wayang purwa* from other kinds of performing arts which present the same repertoire but do not make use of flat leather puppets as their "actors and actresses", such as the Sundanese *wayang golek* found in West Java and the *wayang wong/wayang orang*. The former uses three-dimensional wooden puppets, the latter is performed by human wayangs. The term *wayang* itself literally means *shadow* in the Indonesian languages, but in the course of time has also come to mean *performance* and *actors or actresses*, mostly the former.

The second part of the definition distinguishes *wayang purwa* from other types of *wayang*, which — although making use of flat leather puppets (in whatever form) — do not have as their repertoire stories derived from the two Hindu epics, such as the *wayang gedog* (using the East Javanese Panji legends as its repertoire), *wayang suluh* (using stories from the Indonesian struggle for independence, formerly the medium used by the Information Agencies), *wayang wahyu* (using Biblical stories, introduced by the Catholic Church in Java), etcetera.

Compared with the other forms of *wayang*, *wayang purwa* is definitely the most popular, many of the rest being regarded as rather "dying" forms of art.

The following table gives the names of the personnel, equipment and audio-visual elements of the wayang purwa, each of which will be discussed.

PERSONNEL, EQUIPMENT AND AUDIO-VISUAL ELEMENTS OF WAYANG PURWA

Persounel and Equipment	Audio-Visual Elements
Persounel	Visual Element
<i>Dalang</i> (main artist)	<i>Sabetan</i> (puppet movement)
<i>Niyaga</i> (musicians)	
<i>Pesinden</i> (lady singer(s))	Auditive Elements
Equipment	<i>Janturan</i> (declaimed narration)
<i>Wayang</i> puppets	<i>Carriyos</i> (narration)
<i>Kelir</i> (cloth screen)	<i>Ginem</i> (dialogue)
<i>Blencong</i> (oil lamp)	<i>Suluk</i> (mood-song)
<i>Dhebog</i> (banana log)	<i>Tembang</i> (song)
<i>Kothak</i> (wooden chest)	<i>Dodogan</i> (knocking sound)
<i>Cempala</i> (wooden knocker)	<i>Kepyakan</i> (rapping sound)
<i>Kepyak</i> (metal rappers)	<i>Gending</i> (melody)
<i>Gamelan</i> (musical instruments)	<i>Gerong</i> (male chorus)
	<i>Sinden</i> (songs by pesinden(s))

The total number of the different types of personnel and equipment is eleven, equal to the number of the different kinds of audio-visual elements of wayang purwa. This 11 — 11 method of approaching and analyzing wayang purwa is considered to be a simple way to study the very interesting yet seemingly very complicated form of traditional art. The explanations of each of the elements are as follows:

The Dalang or main artist. Besides being the sole puppeteer manipulating the puppets throughout the night, he is also the director of the performance, directing the musicians and singer(s) who sit behind him. A dalang is usually a man; he learns the art

of performing principally from his father or other close relatives. The number of dalangs in Indonesia is estimated to be 200,000 of which less than fifty of these being women.

Throughout the all night wayang performance (they generally begin around 9 p.m. and end at dawn), the dalang sits on the stage facing the cloth screen. Usually he sits cross-legged for reasons to be explained below, doing the audio-visual elements of the performance i.e. *sabetan* and *kepyakan* while simultaneously on giving coded orders to the rest of his crew on what melodies to play, when to start, to soften, to slow down the rythm, to stop, etc., as well as what songs to sing.

Acquisition of the skill of a dalang, which formerly ran in families and was merely an oral tradition is now available to others wishing to become dalangs. Since 1923, starting in the court-city of Surakarta in Central Java, dalang schools have been set up for those who are interested in studying this type of performing art. Besides being an expert in performing, a dalang must also be versed in classical literature, and must master the various forms of speech and an extensive vocabulary of the Javanese stratified language, its philosophical and even mystical contents, making him not only an entertainer or performer but also a wise teacher and transmitter of cultural values.

The Niyaga, Nayaga or Wiyaga. To accompany a wayang purwa performance there are usually at least 12 musicians called *niyaga*, *wiyaga* or *nayaga*, mostly men, who play at least 14 different kinds of musical instruments. Two of these *niyagas* each play two different kinds of instruments. The most important *niyaga* is the drummer, because he is the one who usually receives the dalang's coded order and transmits them to the other musicians. The sounds of his drum also accentuate or illustrate the puppet movements and serve to enliven the performance as a whole. The coded orders given by the dalang take the form of *cempala*-knockings, *kepyak*-rappings, puppet movements, singings, hummings or literary cues.

The Pesinden or lady singer(s). This is the most recent type of personnel for a wayang performance. Not in common use at the beginning of this century, the *pesinden*(s) is now considered necessary. There is at least one *pesinden*, usually two.

but occasionally there are wayang purwa performances making use of twenty-five pesindens or even more. A large number of pesindens or lady singers is not a necessity and is not usually the rule, although it does give a spectacular impression. The pesinden(s) singing solo or in chorus present in the traditional manner poems usually taken from the works of the famous poets of past centuries.

The wayang puppets. The flat leather puppets are usually made of buffalo hide, the best ones being made of scurfy young buffalo hide, for it does not contain fat and can best retain the glued-on colours. Although wayang purwa, as the word *wayang* (meaning shadow), indicates, is meant to be a shadow play, more people view the performance from the performers' side, while the puppets have long since been coloured with being carved and provided with sticks. As indicated above, the traditional colours are produced by using mixtures of colouring agents and glue which are painted onto the leather. The sticks are made of buffalo horn, the best being made from *albino* buffalo horn.

These wayang puppets do not depict human figures in their natural form, but are highly stylized with each portraying what to the Javanese symbolizes the *character* of a particular figure. The details of the various forms, lines and colours, each symbolizes a certain meaning, a feature of the character of the depicted figure, whether hero or villain, god or man, male or female.

A professional wayang purwa set usually consists of around two hundred puppets, although the well-to-do wayang lovers may have four hundred or more.

There is a term which is important, referring to the various forms and expressionistic characters of the various figures as portrayed in the puppets. This term is *wandha*, which for the puppet figures means their *character* or *mood expression*. As *character expression*, the *wandha* of a certain puppet distinguishes it from others depicting different characters, as the *wandha* of Arjuna, the Mahabharata hero, is different from the others. But there are also various *wandhas* of a certain figure; the more important, the more are his/her *wandhas*, so that Arjuna can be portrayed by different wayang purwa puppets, each showing him in a certain mood. *Wandha* in this latter multiple sense "mood expression".

In an all-night performance, the dalang usually uses not more than 60 puppets. The rest are mounted on both sides of the "stage", kept in the wooden chest, or laid on the righthand side of the dalang, all according to set rules, so that the dalang and his helpers know exactly where to find the needed puppets. What is considered as the "stage" is that part of the screen left open for the performance, this is approximately five feet wide at the center of the upstretched screen; the rest of the screen, on the left and right hand sides of the dalang, are covered by the decorating puppets called *sumpungan* in Javanese. It can generally be said that the bad characters are mounted on the left hand side of the dalang, the good ones on his right hand side. During the performance, the good, the honoured or those higher in rank are mounted on the right hand side or appear from the right hand side (from the dalang's side); from the shadow side they are reversed.

The Kelir or cloth screen. The *kelir* is made of white cotton cloth, with red, blue or black borders. It usually measures approximately 5 meters long and 1.5 meter wide, with the borders — usually red — about 8 cm at the bottom and 10 cm or more on the other sides. The *kelir* is stretched upwards and side-wise in front of the dalang. The red border at the bottom indicates the ground level. Since there are two layers of banana logs (*dhebog*), the puppets mounted in the upper log will appear as if standing (from the shadow side), their feet touching the red border. Those mounted in the lower log will appear as if they are sitting on the floor. The shadows of the puppets are cast on the *kelir*, because an oil lamp, the *blencong*, is hung over the head of the dalang.

The Blencong or coconut-oil lamp. Made of bronze in the form of a flying eagle, its cotton wick extends from its beak, and its spreading wings and tail serving as a reflector. During the all-night performance, the *blencong* has to be refilled several times and its wick regularly extended. The flickering light produced by the *blencong* makes the wayang shadows look alive. Nowadays, people make frequent use of electric light or gas lamps, these are considered more practical. Those who prefer the more mystical and mysterious atmosphere produced by the not-so-bright flickering light of a *blencong* decry this "secular" change, although they also realize (including professional dalangs) that the modern lamp is more

practical and easier to handle, producing a brighter light which thereby enables many more people to clearly see the puppets or their shadows.

The Dhebog or banana log. Two banana logs are positioned under the up-stretched screen; one is placed on the other, the upper one attached to the screen while the lower one is closer to the dalang. The upper dhebog is used for mounting the puppets who in a scene have a higher status, the lower one for those having lower status, status being determined by age, rank, relative position in the family tree, and so on, or a combination of these factors. As above mentioned, those lower in status — mounted in the lower banana log — will appear as if they are sitting on the floor, while those with higher status will appear as if they are standing, their feet touching the lower red border of the screen.

The Kothak or wooden chest. The *kothak* normally functions as a storage box for the wayang puppets and other equipment like *kelir*, *cempala* and *kepyak*. To store a professional set consisting of around 200 puppets, its measurements should be approximately 1.5 meter long, 0.8 meter wide and 0.6 meter high (with lid on).

During the performance, the *kothak* is placed on the left hand side of the dalang. The *kepyak* (metal rapper) is hung on its side facing the dalang, and the dalang also knocks the *cempala* against the *kothak*, so that this wooden chest functions not only to store the wayang puppets and other equipment, but also as a sound-box.

The Cempalas or wooden knockers are usually made of teak wood. There are two kinds, one about half the size of the other. The larger of these is approximately 20 cm long with a diameter of about 5 cm. This is usually held in the dalang's left hand, and is used to knock the *kothak* to produce the sound effects and coded orders he requires. When his two hands are busy manipulating the puppets, he uses the small *cempala* for the same purpose, this is held between the toes of his right foot, for he sits cross-legged, his right foot crossing his left thigh. As mentioned above, the knocking sounds not only produce sound effects, but also serve as the coded orders/signals of the dalang, orders to the musicians on what melodies to play, to slow down or quicken the rhythm, to play it loudly or slowly, or to stop the music.

The Kepyak or metal rappers. This is usually made of three pieces of bronzeplate measuring approximately 15 cm long and 10 cm wide suspended on small ropes or chains to the outer side of the kothak. The dalang hits it with the toes of his right foot or with the small knocker held in the toes of his right foot. The function of this tool is mainly to produce sound effects; occasionally it functions as a cempala in giving the coded signals.

The Gamelan, or musical instruments. These instruments consist of at least 14 different types, mostly made of bronze and generally of the percussion type. A small bamboo flute (*suling*), one or two horizontal drums on a wooden stand (*kendang*), a two-string violin-like instrument (*rebab*) and a wooden xylophone (*gambang*) are the non-percussion and/or non-bronze musical instruments used to accompany a wayang purwa performance.

The eleven kinds of personnel and equipment explained above produce the eleven different kinds of audio-visual elements of a wayang purwa performance. The explanations for these audio-visual elements are as follows:

The Sabetan or puppet movements. The term *sabetan* can actually be understood in several ways. It means either *how the dalang manipulates the puppets*, *how the dalang manipulates the puppets in battle scenes*, or *the puppet movements*. The first and second meanings are sensed by those sitting behind the dalang, the second meaning being more commonly sensed, while the last meaning of the term is usually sensed by those watching from the shadow side.

Traditional rules and conventions govern the postures and movements of each character to convey the emotional state of each figure, all of which are popularly known and have to be mastered by the dalang.

The Janturan or declaimed narration. The contents of the various *janturans* are traditionally set in beautiful prose, declaimed by the dalang, at which time the music is played softly. The function of the *janturan* is to set the stage for particular scenes, telling about the country or place where the scene takes place, what personalities appear on stage, and what will be the topic of their conversation. A *janturan* can also serve to describe notable things appearing on

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stage, for example: the beautiful and magnificent gate leading to the inner quarters of the palace, the royal magic carriage, etcetera.

The Cariyos/Kanda or narration. Here the dalang has more freedom having only to observe literary rules governing classic Javanese language and to demonstrate familiarity with the proper use of this stratified language. The function of the *cariyos*, usually not accompanied with music, is to relate to the audience what happens on stage, what has just happened in a certain scene, or what will soon happen. The dalang's mastery of classic as well as modern-day Javanese, or his lack of mastery thereof, will clearly show in his *cariyos*, since its content is not set by tradition.

The Ginem/Pocapan or dialogue. The dalang has to be able to speak in the different voices of the various characters, each voice — along with the *wandha*, posture and movement — expressing the character of a wayang figure. I have observed that an excellent dalang is able to speak in over forty different voices; he should at least be able to speak in thirty different voices to pass as a qualified dalang.

The Suluk or mood-song. Very characteristic of a wayang performance — in whatever form — is the use of *suluk*s or mood-songs. In a wayang purwa performance, the verses are taken from classic poems, many dating back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries such as the classic Old Javanese *kakawin Arjuna Wiwaha* (mid-eleventh century) or the even more often used *kakawin Bharata Yudha* (mid-twelfth century). Verses from more recent classic works are also used, such as the classic poems of *Yasadhipura* (end of 18th century) and *Mangku Negara IV* (mid-nineteenth century) or even later ones. Sung by the dalang, the *suluk*s function to set the mood in the scene, whether it is dignified serenity, romantic love, anger, deep sorrow, or any other mood being felt by the figure(s) on stage. There are over forty different kinds of *suluk*s (here meaning different kinds of songs), for each of which verses can be used from the various classical sources.

The Tembang/Sekar or song. While the *suluk* is sung by the dalang to set the mood for certain scenes, the *tembang/sekar* is — although actually sung by the dalang also — sung by the character

on stage in his or her own "voice". The verses used can be modern or classic, and the singers are usually the clown-figures.

The Dodogan or knocking sound is the sound of the cempala knocked against the kothak, as has been mentioned above. Besides producing the needed sound effects, the *dodogans* also serve as coded orders/signals to the musicians and singers. There are therefore various patterns of knocking, each of which has a specific purpose or meaning.

The Kepyakan or rapping sound. Produced by the *kepyak*, the *kepyakan* mainly functions to produce sound effects enlivening the performance or accentuating the puppets' movements. Occasionally it also serves to function like the *dodogan* in giving coded orders to the crew.

The Gending or melody. The Javanese classic repertory contains over one thousand melodies or *gendings*, many of which are used in wayang purwa performances. Over one hundred and fifty melodies are used in the various performances, although during one all-night performance not more than thirty different melodies are played. The considerable number of melodies are caused by the traditional rules with regard to the playing of suitable melodies for certain figures in certain places or moods. Although, for example, it is an opening scene called *jejer*, which invariably takes place in a king's or deity's audience hall, yet the melody played differs, determined by the character of the king or deity holding audience. The same applies to other kinds of scenes. So we see that in the wayang purwa, the Javanese hold strictly to rules governing harmony between sound (melody), form and posture (*wandha*, expressing character and mood), and movements (*sabelan*), all of which are felt to portray the character of a particular person.

The Gerong or male chorus. Occasionally, some of the *niyagas* sing in chorus to enliven the performance. The verses are usually taken from recent classics, mainly from nineteenth century poems.

The Sindenan or song of the lady singer(s). Similar to the *gerongs*, the *sindenans* make use of recent classic poems, but they also can make use, and often do — of recently composed verses

and melodies which are not serious in mood or character. A sindenan may for example praise the virtues of modernization. Sung either in solo or as a chorus, a sindenan can also use the same verses being sung by the *niyagas*, in which case their different tunes complement each other.

STRUCTURE AND TUNES, AND CONTENTS OF THE PLAYS

The *wayang purwa* is one of the very few structured plays in the world. The all-night play is invariably divided into three parts or *Pathets*; the first one is called *Pathet Nem*, the second *Pathet Sanga* and the last part *Pathet Manyura*. The terms refer to the mood of the melodies used in each part. The Javanese distinguish between the two scales used in their melodies, the *Slendro* and *Pelog*, each of which is divided into three pathets. Traditionally, the *wayang purwa* performance is accompanied by melodies of the *slendro* scale with the above mentioned pathets/moods. Tunes in the *slendro* and *pelog* scales differ from the Western ones, *slendro* tunes being similar to the Western *do, re, mi, sol* and *la*, while the *pelog* tunes are similar to *si, do, mi, fa*, and *sol*. We can probably say that the cluster of tunes used in a certain pathet differs from those used in other pathets, therefore producing different moods; we may also use the term *nuclear theme* to indicate the differences between the pathets. These concepts are helpful to those who want to compare the Javanese tunes of the pathets with Western ones. A note which in a certain pathet resembles a *do* will sound like a *mi* in another pathet, merely because of the different cluster of tunes or nuclear theme.

This three-part division is traditionally set, each part consisting of acts and scenes, the succession of which is set by tradition. We can say that the first part presents the problem of the story, the second part shows the complication of the problem, and in the final part, the pathet *manyura*, the problem is finally "solved", with the good side overcoming its difficulties.

The contents of the play, as shown in the various acts and scenes, consist of various topics from daily jokes to sophisticated

discourses on philosophy and mystical doctrines. The classical figures speak in dignified and lofty languages, while the clowns — the same ones appearing in every play — provide the jokes, conversations and songs which relate the performance to contemporary conditions and issues. It is through the clown-scenes that the wayang purwa can always keep up with contemporary topics and problems, enabling it to adjust itself to the changes in society.

The giving of a performance, in which carved leather puppets were used, was clearly reported in the middle of the eleventh century, in Mpu Kanwa's Old Javanese poem, the above mentioned Arjuna Wiwaha. The Old Javanese language, common among literary circles at that time, changed into Middle Javanese by the middle of the 14th century, and the latter had changed into modern Javanese by the beginning of the last century.

THE REPERTOIRE OF WAYANG PURWA

The second part of our definition reads: "..... a repertoire which *initially* came from the Hindu epics: the Ramayana and Mahabharata". The word "initially" is stressed, for as known in the wayang world today, there are so many differences as to justify the opinion that the Javanese (and other Indonesian ethnic groups as well) have their own version of Ramayana and Mahabharata. The differences between the Indian and Javanese versions (as known in the wayang purwa) have been discussed several times in the past. A notable contribution was made by Dr. A.B. Cohen-Stuart, who compared the Indian and Javanese Mahabharatas in *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, published over one hundred years ago (1860).

The number of plays in the wayang purwa repertoire was listed and systematized, and their contents were summarized by J. Kats in *Het Javaansche Toneel* (1923). The whole repertoire is divided into four cycles: on gods and evil spirits (7 plays), on Lokapala (5 plays), on the Ramayana (18 plays) and on the Mahabharata (147 plays). This means that to perform the entire

repertoire it would take 177 nights, each nightly performance lasting approximately nine hours.

In what respects do the Javanese Ramayana and Mahabharata differ from their Indian versions? The differences are numerous, but a few marked ones will be mentioned here. The traditional clowns who always appear in any wayang purwa performance, *Semar*, *Gareng*, *Petruk* and *Bagong*, serve the good side and invariably assist it to victory, and are pictured in the wayang repertoire as deities incarnate. *Semar*, the wise, old, ugly and fat man, the father of the other three, is in fact a powerful deity, who voluntarily descends to earth to guarantee the victory of good over evil. He is the elder brother of *Shiva*, also called *Bathara Guru* in the wayang, and whenever the latter acts unjustly against *Semar*'s earthly masters, *Semar* stands up to defeat *Guru*. If this sounds strange to our Hindu friends, they will be even more surprised to know that in the wayang purwa world, both *Shiva* and *Semar*, along with other gods in the Hindu pantheon, are presented as descendants of the Biblical (or Qoranic) Adam !

THE SPREAD OF WAYANG PURWA REPERTOIRE

Although the wayang purwa is mainly a Javanese form of art, its repertoire — with slight differences from region to region — is shared by other forms of performing art familiar to other ethnic groups in Indonesia. The Sundanese of West Java know the stories, which are performed in their *wayang golek*; the Madurese of East Java have their own style of wayang purwa; the repertoire is also used in *wayang orang/wong*, and the stories are also known in Bali and told through the Balinese shadow play. Altogether, the wayang repertoire is known to the Javanese (47% of the total population, the Sundanese (14%), the Madurese (7%) and the Balinese (2%). The other ethnic groups can not be said to be totally unfamiliar with the stories, for they are also contained in newspapers, periodicals, and so on, written in the national language.

CAN WAYANG PURWA BE A MEDIUM FOR CHANGE ?

The question has often been asked whether a traditional form of art, like the wayang purwa, can be made a medium for change. Modern day cosmopolitan man tends to look at tradition and its many manifestations in a negative way, regarding them as hindering the course of progress, shackling the behaviour of man who is ever trying to move ahead, to acquire the new and to live a better life. In the eyes of modern men, especially those living in the big cities of the developing world, tradition is associated with backwardness and out-of-date cultural values which must be laid aside if they wish their countries to develop sufficiently to compete effectively in the modern world. This attitude is shared by many living in the Indonesian cities, yet the question can be asked whether a nation or people can really rid themselves of the past and entirely live with newly acquired values and systems.

Relying only on the modern and new could serve merely to produce failure and disillusionment, and create a communication gap between the relatively few modernized and educated city dwellers and the mass of the people. The latter still hold to their old cultural values and can not be made to change their way of life, largely because they do not understand the messages conveyed to them by modern leaders unwilling to accept or use their cultural frame of reference.

It seems that the above communication gap exists in Indonesia, for reasons to be related below, and that wayang purwa can function to bridge this gap between the urban and the rural population, between the sophisticated city dwellers and the uneducated villagers, the latter of which constitutes the greater part of the population.

According to the 1971 census, 81% of the total population live in the rural areas, yet the modern mass media are largely confined to the (big) cities. Moreover, what is termed the mass media proves — on closer examination — not to be as powerful as media for change as would be imagined, simply because they are not as widely spread as expected. For a population of approximately 125 million, the total newspaper circulation is estimated at a ratio of 7 to every 1,000 people. Add to this the fact that they are mostly

found in the few big cities, especially in Jakarta, where up to 70% of the total circulation of national newspapers is thought to be centred. The other mass media do not present a better picture. The total number of television sets is estimated at 200,000, but over 130,000 sets are found in Jakarta. Probably the radio functions as the most potentially powerful medium for change, for it is estimated that over five million sets are in use in the country, and, thanks to the invention of transistors, even those people living in remote rural areas can listen to radio broadcasts. However, in a country where the average per capita income is estimated at US\$ 90.— per annum, with those living in the cities taking a larger proportion, it is rather difficult to believe that the mass of people living in the rural areas can afford to buy a radio set, the cost of which represents at least two months of the average national per capita income.

On the other hand, the wayang purwa with its widely known repertoire, along with the other forms of traditional media such as the Sundanese wayang golek, the Balinese shadow play, wayang orang/wayang wong, etc., are deeply anchored in the hearts of the people and are for them a familiar cultural frame of reference. Wayang purwa is especially very popular, both in the rural and urban areas, being performed from the Presidential palace down to the remotest villages in Java. Compared to the relatively few movie theatres — there are only about 500 throughout Indonesia found mainly in the big cities — the 20,000 wayang purwa dalangs can reach the people more effectively, because wayang purwa relays messages contained in and relevant to a familiar cultural framework. Such is also the case when compared with the other forms of mass media.

Ever since the fifties, the government radio stations have regularly broadcast and are still broadcasting wayang purwa performances through at least four radio stations. Those in Semarang, Yogyakarta, Surakarta and Jakarta take turns broadcasting the weekly allnight performance.

The question may be raised whether wayang purwa, a traditional art form, can possibly convey new ideas and concepts. Put another way, can wayang purwa serve as a medium for change and modernization? Change and modernization are considered a necessity, for the various crises through which the Javanese (and other ethnic groups in Indonesia) have been living endanger

the very existence of the nation, and socio-economic development requires no less than a total cultural change, a change in the way of life and in orientation.

The answer to the question is *yes*, for wayang purwa itself, in the course of time, has experienced change and has shown itself able to adapt to new ideas and concepts. It has incorporated changes in language and religion, and has modified its repertoire, which now contains elements of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, etcetera. Moreover, through the clown-scenes, the dalangs can always insert modern ideas into his jokes, conversations and songs, as these scenes are not bound by rigid rules governing the classic parts of the performance. Nowadays, people can attend a wayang performance with a famous dalang, broadcast by radio throughout the country, in which the traditional clowns discuss family planning, the introduction of quickyielding varieties of rice, and any other modern topics.

At the same time, the ethical values which have universal application, and of which there are many in the wayang stories, can still be retained, providing a link between the past and present, between the classic and the modern. The wayang purwa performance *techniques* as described and explained above are native to Indonesia for although the Javanese and other Indonesians have absorbed so much from Hindu culture and its Sanskrit literature in fact so much that most Javanese like to have Sanskrit names or Sanskrit derived names and terms — yet the terms referring to the elements of the play are non-Sanskrit and not otherwise foreign in origin. This fact provides the Javanese and other Indonesians with pride, a pride needed by a people who have to struggle hard to adjust themselves to the modern world, a pride which can help them overcome their difficulties in their Herculean effort to develop their country in order to live a better life, realizing the dreams for which they have fought to achieve independence.

And if the modern mass media have failed to integrate the rural and urban people and have thus created a communication gap, dividing minds rather than consolidating people, the wayang purwa can provide this link between the largely different views of the urban and rural population. It can help to eliminate this communication gap, preventing schisms in a society which desperately needs a united effort to succeed and move ahead.

TERMS AND TERMINOLOGICAL LANGUAGE*

Anton M. MOELIONO

Whiteley (1968) distinguishes two different aspects in the planning-policy of a national language. One is the ideological and the other is the technical aspect.

The ideological aspect comprises the efforts of awakening the people's sense of nationality and of nurturing the image of the effectiveness of the language in the process of 'nation-building'. This ideological aspect does not require very much financially, because a commemoration of the Youth Pledge, for instance, is done only once a year; and signboards that say "Use Indonesian" do not need maintenance once they have been printed and fixed on an office wall. This aspect, however, is not without merit. The use of the Indonesian language during ceremonies and official meetings does help to make us conscious of our Indonesian identity. It is undeniable that as a symbol of unity and solidarity, the Indonesian language has played a very significant role in the history of our independence. That various vernacular languages exist, has never consciously or unconsciously been regarded as a problem.

The technical aspect comprises the actions to be taken in the implementation of the language planning policy, such as new syllabuses for the teaching of language from elementary school to university level (Harijadi, 1970), the composition of school dictionaries and the publication of various glossaries according to the variety in needs. There is also the necessity for the production of reading materials in the form of either translations or original works. Then, a self-respecting nation needs to have a developed literature. Therefore the scope of literary creativity should not be

*) A revised version of a paper presented at the Seminar on Terminology in Jakarta, November 11 — 12, 1972.

limited only to the production of short stories and teenage poetry (Hazil, 1970; Hoed, 1970; Zen, 1970; Badudu, 1970).

Within the framework of an overall language policy those who are entrusted with its implementation should not forget the recompense for them who have taken the trouble to gain a good knowledge and command of the national language. People whose careers are not co-determined by the extent to which they command the national language would not feel stimulated to spare the time and energy to learn the language seriously. At present we may note, for instance, that jobs advertised in the papers virtually never mention the command of the Indonesian language as a qualification. The teaching of the Indonesian language at faculties and academies is often-times merely a formality to comply with a requirement in the curriculum.

Unlike the ideological aspect, the technical implementation of a language planning policy, besides taking a great amount of expenditure (the money for which is not always available), also requires a relatively longer time and the availability of expert personnel. One small example as a comparison: in the period 1946—49 the Turkish government set aside the equivalent of thirty-five million rupiahs a year for its language development program (Heyd, 1954).

Quinn, a social scientist from New Zealand who came to Indonesia to learn the Indonesian and Javanese languages, wrote in an article on his observations in Indonesia that:

"Most Indonesians show an ambivalent attitude towards the Indonesian language. On the one hand, the Indonesian language is very much appreciated, on the other, it is often belittled. Generally the Indonesian language is much more appreciated as a symbol of unity, sovereignty, official power, etc. than as a practical means to implement development". (Quinn, 1971).

The effort for language development, apart from standardizing its spelling, has two other important objectives. One is to develop linguistic norms and rules that can be used as directives and comparators for good language usage and that supersede the differences among the local and class dialects. This effort is aimed at enabling the language to attain that level of maximum common comprehensibility in which ambiguities and misunderstandings

cannot happen. As long as among the native speakers of a language differences of opinion can be found on what constitutes a good linguistic form, one may continue to presume that the language in question has not yet been completely standardized. In the Indonesian language, for instance, there is still no agreement on when a pattern like *saya belum baca buku itu* 'I haven't read the book yet', is permissible and when not.

The other objective is to modernize the language i.e. to adjust and reform it so that its translatability from and into another language of this multi-lingual world is being increased. For this it is necessary to enlarge the vocabulary or lexicon and to analyze the various styles and discourse types in line with the development of our domains of activities.

The vocabulary should be developed so as to also represent the variety of concepts that apply to the different fields of life and activities of the human being in a diverse society. There is need to standardize various styles in the Indonesian language and to have them generally accepted so that people will have a wider choice of language usage beyond the styles primarily used in public speeches and radio news broadcasts.

In this process of expansion new words and phrases can be created by drawing on indigenous as well as foreign sources. A main consideration in the creation of these new forms should be their effectiveness. A form, phrase, style or saying is effective when it fits a given situation and correctly conveys the message intended by its speaker. A language's effectiveness is not synonymous with its being correct in accordance with conventional grammar. They do not need to mean the same or be coincidental. Ramelan (1972) gave an interesting example in his article on what constitutes good Indonesian language. It tells about an Australian youth (apparently a student) in Jakarta who was bargaining with a *becak* (pedicap) driver on the fare to a place called Planet Senen (a red light district). Applying the Indonesian he had learnt at school the young man asked: "*Untuk memudahkan persoalan nanti, berapakah yang kau kehendaki?*" (To make things easier later; as for the fare how much do you want). The *becak* driver was offended; while turning away he retorted: "*Jangan gitu, oom, emangnya udah liat sendiri saya suke bekendak di Planet?*" (Be careful about what you say, mister; did you ever see me making love at Planet?). The

youth had used a form that is correct grammatically, but it was not effective (*bekendak* is a jargon for 'having a love relationship with' or 'playing paramour to').

The lesson that can be drawn from this anecdote is that the question of what constitutes good Indonesian can be viewed from two different aspects. Firstly, our evaluation of the form of the language itself as used in a given situation. In the story above the youth failed to achieve his purpose; here *good* means 'effective'. Secondly, our evaluation of the social group to which the language user belongs: the youth was speaking according to the grammatical rules current among the educated. Here *good* means in accordance with grammatical rules (cf. Francis, 1967).

Still in relation with the modernization of language it must be pointed out that the publication of glossaries and dictionaries provides only the infrastructure. Of far greater importance is the effort to ensure consistency in the use of the new form and styles by the group of speakers concerned. The standardization of new words and phrases with special meaning in reference books, writings, and in the speech used by experts is more effective than merely issuing glossaries and dictionaries which might not be in keeping with the way in which the real language expands and develops (cf. Ferguson, 1968; Nasoetion, 1970). Another danger is that the branch of knowledge being taught will merely consist of memorizing terms. We have seen earlier that the efforts towards a standardization of our system of language expression, such as is being done by our schools, is accompanied by a flux of divergence and specialization in speech varieties. This is the result of the particular conditions of our environment and the structure of our society. The vastness of our country's territory which constitutes a natural barrier to intensive interaction, required to speed up assimilation, has led to the emergence of various local dialects having specific characteristics in their pronunciation, vocabulary, idiom, and possibly also in their sentence patterns.

The growth towards a stratified society especially in urban areas, has given rise to several variations of the Indonesian language according to the various ranks and classes of society. Even based only on the vocabulary and idiom, one can easily list a number of the so-called social dialects, without trying to be

exhaustive here. We will find special features in the speech used in a family; in certain age groups; by the "uprooted" (vagrants, prostitutes); by craftsmen; by professionals, in trade and industry; by journalists; by government administrators; by politicians and party members; in the world of sports and the arts; by the military and in religious circles and beliefs (cf. Hertzler, 1965).

Each variant does not form a loose constituent, but remains part and parcel of the same common national language. Within the framework of language development the determination to "uphold the language of unity", should not lead us to overlook these existing realities.

The assumption that the usage of our language is inconsistent and the formation of new words unsystematic, may in fact be reverted to our own laxity. So far we have always been tended to treat the Indonesian language as a symbol and have never been serious enough to develop it as a communicative means of elaborated information. Too many people still think that the problem of developing the Indonesian language was settled with its adoption as the official language in 1928.

Others assume that the final say in the question of language lies with the public and that therefore the language should be left to grow according to the public's tastes and preferences. The declaration that "the public has the final decision" is still used as the ultimate weapon in discussions about language. It is a view based on the sociological teachings of Durkheim and the school of linguistic structuralism in the U.S.A. which became popular in Indonesia in the fifties. There is indeed some truth in this standpoint. In the end it is the speech community that will either accept or reject a change or a new development in the language. This is as true as saying that it is the public that decides whether or not it should accept the latest in fashion, the horsetail, the miniskirt or the bell-bottom, or whether it should show preference for either the *Fiat 125* or the *Toyota Corona*. But this, however, does not provide fashion or car designers with the luxury to sit back and relax. On the contrary, at every turn of the season and year they invariably come up with new creations which they offer to the public to be evaluated and accepted. We can also see that while the public remains free to choose according

to its own likings, these designers eventually are able to guide their customers' taste into certain directions. Then, more often than not, people accept the latest model because they just want to keep up with fashion although thereby they have to sacrifice part of their freedom of choice.

The same applies to language about which Halim (1972) said that "the norms of a language should be formulated and established in such a way that they can readily be accepted by the public". The language planners — and we mean not only the experts but also the members of other social groups — who wish to see the Indonesian language become more refined, more flexible, more accurate and capable of serving its speakers in all of its purposes, should wholeheartedly try to guide the direction of the public's taste by setting the example in being sensitive to the language's uniformity as well as its multifariousness.

If we want to expand the vocabulary and develop various styles, the problem that arises is whether the Indonesian language has enough means to make this modernization possible? To answer this question its speakers must exercise their creative power; they should not try to escape from difficulties and thereby abandon their ingrained tenacity to stick to an accepted usage.

At present we assume that the sounds represented by the letters *j*, *sy*, *m*, *z*, and *kh*, can function to discern meaning; we accept the possibility of having consonant clusters such as those represented by *tr-*, *kw-*, and *-ks* within syllables (in old Malay this was always avoided) and we have adopted the twenty-six letters of the Roman alphabet. Because the recent standardization of the spelling system was prompted most of all by an awareness about the phonological differences in the Indonesian language of a generation ago and the present time, the process of adaptation of a new spelling system as regards common words, nomenclature and terminology should no longer be based on the old Malay rules or on current text books which are no longer applicable to the language as it is used and spoken today.

The misconception that Indonesians have difficulty in pronouncing the letters *j* or *z*, for instance, can be countered by pointing out the fact that in Indonesian schools English and Arabic

are taught. In both language these two sounds occur frequently. Therefore it is not necessary to automatically change every *f* and *z* sound into *p* and *j* in modern Indonesian, especially when these two sounds constitute the only letters that make the difference in the meaning of words (e.g. *pakta* 'pact': *fakta* 'fact'; *folio* 'folio': *polio* 'polio'. Though Malay formerly adopted the Dutch word *stroop* 'syrup' in the form of *selerup*, it does not signify that we should now also spell the adopted words *strucluur* and *administratie* as *seturuktur* and *adminiselerasi*. Admittedly the Indonesian language tends to favor bisyllabic root words so that the Javanese word *trap* has become *terap* in Indonesian (Cf. Kridalaksana, 1967; 1968).

In the case of special terms of the various branches of modern science the conversion of sounds may obstruct rather than facilitate communication and information if carried out to extremes. (Pudjatatmaka, 1968a; 1968b; Nasoetion, 1972). Imagine the confusion if we were to turn the words *autotrof* (a non-parasitic plant or saprophyte) and *autotrop* (said of plants growing in a straight direction) into *ototrop* (the winding tract in the ear) (Cf. Pedoman 1958).

An important matter in the process of language development, especially where specific names and technical terms are concerned, is the principle of consistency rather than the mere concern for purity in the indigenous language. In other words, though the system may be complex, there must be coherence and harmony among all its component parts. (Del Rosario, 1968).

Take for example the suffixes *-i*, and *-kan*, which are often used in an inconsistent way. The forms: *mengatasi*, *membelakangi*, *menyampingi* denote that "subject respectively comes out on top, behind, and beside" the object. But now people also use the form *membawahi* not in the sense that the "subject gets below" but "gets on top". So now Indonesian has the forms *mengatasi* and *membawahi* to express the same idea.

Another example. "*Orang yang didewakan*", means someone who has been turned into, or is regarded as a *dewa* 'god'; the forms *diceritakan*, *dikatakan*, denote that something has been turned into a *cerita* 'story' and *kata* 'word' respectively. But when people say *ditugaskan* it does not mean that someone has been turned into a *tugas* 'task, duty' but that someone has been assigned to some task

or duty. We accept such forms as *dikurniai* 'granted a gift', *dihadiahi* 'given a present', *dipijati* 'massaged'; *diciumi* 'kissed' but we are surprised if someone says *ditugasi* because we insist that one can only be *ditugaskan* 'becoming an assignment'.

Especially where terminology is concerned the rules of grammar must be applied consistently and rationally. We should be able to distinguish between "*Air dapat dikhlori supaya kuman-kuman dimusnahkan*" (Chlorine may be used to disinfect water) and "*Benzena yang dikhlorkan menghasilkan khlorobenzena*" (Chlorine substituted for something else in benzena produces chlorobenzena) (Pedoman, 1956: 30).

The Indonesian language as a system of communication must therefore be consistent. Otherwise, our language will eventually become second in its influence to any other language that is more consistent. Furthermore, a system of communication that is not consistent is dangerous. Suppose that this month a red traffic light means that people in the street must stop but that next month the red light indicates a "go ahead". Imagine the consequence this would create in the traffic of our cities which even without such inconsistencies already suffer from frequent jams.

Still another example. We have morphological sets like. *satumenyatukan-bersatu-mempersatukan* which are related to *kesatuan-penyatu-penyatuan-pemersatu-persatuan*. Now let us take *adil-mengadili* which is related to *keadilan-pengadil-pengadilan-peradilan*. *Pengadilan* now does not only refer to the way or process of *mengadili* 'to try in court' in the same way as *penyatuan* refers to the process of *menyatukan* 'to unify', as it can also mean the institution that does the trying. Because we already have a *Mahkamah Agung* 'Supreme Court' why don't we introduce also the names *Mahkamah Tinggi* 'High Court' and *Mahkamah Pertama* 'Court of the First Instance' or *Mahkamah Rendah* 'Lower Court'. In this way the organizational relationship and line of hierarchy among the judiciary bodies will become more obvious. By taking the form *pengadilan* as meaning only the process of *mengadili*, we restore this form to a pattern of orderly paradigms.

Foreign words and terms entering our language should be treated with equal consistency. Because beside the word *sistem* there is also *sistematik*, beside *problem* there is *problematik*, and beside

apotek there is *apoteker*, we should spell the second vowels in the words *sistem*, *problem* and *apotek* with the letter (e) rather than with (i). In this connection a word of praise should go to our armed forces for their effort to create a consistent terminological system of their own.

As terms are meant to convey complex scientific concepts and intricate relationships, any kind of abstraction should be expressed in consistently and rationally structured words and phrases. Inconsistency will preclude a further systematization involving related terms (Del Rosario, 1968).

The basis for this could be (1) general Indonesian words whose meaning has been narrowed such as *menyuling* 'distillate', *mengembun* 'condensate', *daya* 'force', *gaya* 'energy' (2) old Malay words that have been revived and given a new meaning such as *rahat* 'pause' *ujaran* 'speech'; (3) words originating from one of the main vernacular languages or from a classical language which has become a traditional source of names and terms, such as *bobo!* 'weight', *cacah* 'digit', *karya* 'work', *pariwisata* 'tourism' (Del Rosario, 1968 and Kridalaksana, 1967a, 1967b).

The meaning of terms whose form, affixes, repetitions and combinations have been duly made according to the morphological rules of the Indonesian language, can often be easily grasped from their construction, whatever their origin.

Examples.: *impor* — *pengimporan* (import)
rasio — *kerasio-rosioon* (rationalistic)
wanilo pencuri versus *pencuri wanila* (female thief vs thief
of women)

As scientific and technological concepts are already being taught at elementary and secondary school levels whereas only in the final stage of high school, do students get some understanding of the morphology of the foreign western languages, wrongly applied foreign affixes will only hamper the students' ability to comprehend the material that is being taught.

The need for a special language and its special terminology, phraseology and capacity for symbolization, is badly felt in the scientific field. There is a parallel relationship between the progress of science and that of the language in which science is recorded.

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explained, and passed on to others. A society that fails to produce a stimulant to the development of science can never hope to have a scientific language. Conversely the non-existence of a scientific language will retard the breeding of a generation of scientists (Cf. Singgih, 1970; Nasoetion, 1972).

Another fact supporting the argument for a scientific language is that ordinary language is incapable of recording and explaining scientific knowledge adequately. Scientific knowledge consists of identified facts, axioms, definitions, principles, laws, hypotheses, theorems, postulates, taxonomies and their interpretations. If they are not presented in a correct, accurate, exact, precise and uniform way they will become incomprehensible and therefore useless. Useless to our as well as to future generations.

The description of analytical techniques has to be made in such a way that it allows verification and repetition by others. This reasons for the need to have it tested and reacted in an identical way. Concepts, tools and means in research must be given precise and uniform names, or be standardized to the greatest possible extent. Every discipline must develop and cultivate a scientific style of its own; a commendable scientific effort itself.

Hertzler (1965) forwarded a few general characteristics that distinguish the language of science from everyday speech. Excluding terminologies and its symbolizations he listed the following traits:

1. Scientific language is to the point and exact, it avoids all kinds of vaguenesses and ambiguities.
2. Scientific language is objective and strives to eliminate personal biases.
3. Scientific language accurately defines names, traits and categories of objects of research, to avoid confusion.
4. Scientific language is unemotional as it avoids sensational interpretations.
5. Unlike several branches of the liberal arts which make use of word connotations, metaphors, irony and similes, scientific language is exact and exclusive. Exact in meaning and exclusive in that it shuts out any possible form other than what has been determined previously.

6. Scientific language tends to standardize the meaning of its words, phrases and its explanatory style on the basis of a prior arrangement.
7. The style of scientific language is neither fiery nor dogmatic.
8. The style of scientific language is economical i.e. it strives not to use more words than is necessary.
9. From the viewpoint of linguistic development, the form, meaning and function of scientific words are longer lasting than those of ordinary, common words.

Because science knows no geographic or political boundaries and as its methods are virtually the same everywhere, it is not surprising that the style of scientific language in different countries tend to grow similar. It merits mention here that the effort required to translate a scientific work will depend on the level of knowledge that is sought to be achieved in the translation.

Apart from that, a scientist who does not command the language or languages of the scientifically advanced nations, will not benefit from the sources of knowledge that he needs to develop his knowledge of science and his own personal self. In this context the role of English deserves a mentioning. According to UNESCO statistics in 1958, sixty-two percent of the entire output of scientific writings was in English. Not counting the Russian contribution which is unknown, scientific writings in English, French and German together accounted for seventy-one percent of the total. (Cf. Zen, 1970).

Just as narrow nationalism harbours the danger of chauvinism, so does science that only abides within the boundaries of its own homestead, harbour the danger of provincialism.

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CHRONICLE

AUGUST — SEPTEMBER

Internal Affairs

On the eve of the Independence Day, President Soeharto delivered his address of State before a special session of the House of Representatives. The speech was mainly patterned upon the Sapta Krida, or program of the Second Development Cabinet, however, it also provided a bridge between the first and second Five-Year Development Plans.

"Our balance of struggle this year is very attractive. Here we can see somewhat sombre shades. But at the same time bright colours can be observed there also", the President said in his address. He further analysed the last year of the first REPELITA: mentioning among other issues the emerging inflation, the rice-problem and the general price increases which have occurred. Meanwhile he illustrated the economic progress achieved to date in the field of foreign trade. "We must continue endeavouring to step up exports on a stronger basis". The provision of employment opportunities, education, health, rural development and transmigration are considered to be the major problems which must be solved in the socio-economic process.

Introducing the Sapta Krida, President Soeharto stressed again that the 1945 Constitution is to form the foundation of state policy. He explained both the constitutional limitations and the link between the constitution and progress to be achieved, stating that it is from this constitutional starting point as well from the decreed Broad Lines of the State Policy, that the Sapta Krida is constructed.

"I have determined three essential targets to be attained during the forthcoming five years. They are:

1. Adequate supply and even distribution of food and clothing with improved quality and at prices which the people can pay.

2. Greater and more widespread material and spiritual welfare as economic development bears more results.
3. Securing and honorable position for Indonesia in international relations.

The Sapta Krida is meant to provide the guidelines for the present Government's efforts to attain the above mentioned targets. They are:

1. To maintain and strengthen political stability
2. To maintain and strengthen stability in the field of public order and security
3. To maintain and strengthen economic stability
4. To complete REPELITA I and to prepare and implement REPELITA II
5. To improve the people's welfare
6. To step up the improvement of Public Administration
7. To hold General Election at the latest by the end of 1977.

Commenting on the problem of political stability, the President declared that its solidification and continuation can only be guaranteed on a basis of a common agreement and decision on the part of the nation as a whole. He further argued that political stability lies in the political awareness of all, and to this end he insisted on the necessity of conducting two-way communications in an honest and open manner.

Further analysis on foreign policy, the ASEAN, security, law enforcement as well as on the integration of the Indonesian Armed Forces was expounded by president Soeharto. Lastly the President outlined a general picture of the coming Second REPELITA. "Among the major socio-economic problems to be tackled are extension of job opportunities, increase of everybody's real income and a more even spread of social justice".

Meanwhile certain important events which occurred before August 16 are worth mentioning. There was a riot in Bandung, now commonly referred to as the Bandung Affair of August 5th. The incident began simply with a traffic accident, however, this was soon followed by an outbreak of mass destruction, demolition and burnings. "Such an affair must not happen again", said President Soeharto. A series of arrests quickly followed the affair.

On August 8th, the restoration of Borobudur was begun, a project which is expected to be completed by 1980.

SEPTEMBER — OCTOBER

Internal Affairs

From September 4 through 9 a national conference of GOLKAR was held in Surabaya with 665 participants. The aim of the conference was to consolidate the organization in preparation for the implementation of the Broad Lines of the State Policy. In the opening ceremony, President Soeharto stressed the importance of political awareness. The conference itself succeeded in drawing up the GOLKAR's Constitution, Strategy and Program together with electing its new leaders. The unfinished draft on the GOLKAR's Doctrine was handed over to the Central Board (Dewan Pimpinan Pusat) to finalize.

On September 17, the House of Representatives began discussing the draft bill of the marriage law which had been handed down to the House by the Government on July 31st. Evidently the bill has instigated certain radical reactions in the country, particularly in Moslem circles. The Deputy of the KOPKAMTIB warned that all differences over the bill were to be conducted through proper channels, however, some radical reactions were launched by Moslem fanatics, including the occupation of the House of Representatives by Moslem youngsters. Meanwhile a meeting between President Soeharto and Moslem leaders was held, in which the President stressed that the Government is always open for musyawarah. However, the President again stressed the importance of the bill and its national relevance.

While opening the Darul Ulum University, Major General Soedjono Hoemardani stressed the importance of religion in the process of social development. In Indonesia Pancasila is to form the common foundation from which every religion can fulfill its function.

Foreign Affairs

From September 5 to 9, Indonesia participated into the Non-Bloek Summit Conference. With its delegation being led by Mr. Adam Malik, as the personal representative of Presiden Soeharto. In this conference Indonesia stressed the importance of the non-aligned countries orientation towards economic cooperation. Mr. Adam Malik further during this period led the Indonesian delegation in the General Assembly of the UNO.

On September 20, the ASEAN Standing Committee held its session in Jakarta.

ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRE

SECOND FRANCO-INDONESIAN CONFERENCE

(2 — 8 July 1973)

Sponsors : CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL
'STUDIES (JAKARTA)

CENTRE D'ETUDES DE POLITIQUE ETRANGERE
(PARIS)

Co-sponsors : PERTAMINA

GAJAH MADA UNIVERSITY (Yogyakarta)

The Second Franco-Indonesian Conference held in Indonesia was the second of its kind, the first having been conducted in Paris on October 20 and 21, 1972. This year's conference occupied three venues, namely Jakarta, Yogyakarta, and Sanur, with the emphasis of the papers presented differing widely at each site. Throughout the conference, however, all papers were related to its central theme, namely "The World of Strategy and the Foreign Policy of Nations".

PROGRAMME:

First Part

THE WORLD OF STRATEGY AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF NATIONS

(Public Lectures, Jakarta, July 2—3, 1973)

REFLECTION ON FUTURE STRATEGY

Leo HAMON

THE ROLE OF THE ARMED FORCES IN
THE ELABORATION OF FOREIGN
POLICY

Jacques TRAUB

THE INDONESIAN QUARTERLY

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN
THE SEVENTIES

Jacques VERNANT

OIL AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

H. Ibnu SUTOWO

THE WORLD ENERGY PROBLEM —
A FRENCH VIEW

Jules LEVEUGLE

THE MAKING OF FOREIGN POLICY IN
REGIONAL COOPERATION —
THE ASEAN MODEL

Adam MALIK

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF AN
INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY —
THE EXAMPLE OF FRANCE

Paul-Marie de
LA GORCE

Second Part

WESTERN EUROPE AND SOUTHEAST ASIA
(Lectures at the Gajah Mada University,
Yogyakarta, July 5, 1973)

CULTURAL RELATIONS AMONG
NATIONS

Roger PARET

ECONOMIC RELATIONS AMONG
NATIONS

Paul-Marie de
LA GORCE

Third Part

EUROPEAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN
PROBLEMS IN THE SEVENTIES
(Working Seminar, Sanur, July 5—8; 1973)

THE FUTURE OF INDONESIA

Ali MOERTOPO

EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE

Jacques VERNANT

THE MAKING OF FOREIGN POLICY IN
REGIONAL COOPERATION —
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY
MODEL

Leo HAMON

ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRE

SOUTHEAST ASIA'S STRATEGIC
POSTURE IN THE SEVENTIES

SOEMITRO

FRENCH POLICY IN INDO-CHINA AND
SOUTHEAST ASIA

Paul-Marie de
LA GORCE

THE EMERGING ECONOMIC POWER:
THE MULTINATIONAL
CORPORATIONS

Jules LEVEUGLE

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, MULTI-
NATIONAL CORPORATION AND
NATIONAL INTEGRATED UNITS

J. PANGLAYKIM

FRANCO-INDONESIAN RELATIONS IN
THE SEVENTIES
(General Discussions)

Papers presented at the Second Franco-Indonesian
Conference have been published under the title

THE WORLD OF STRATEGY AND
THE FOREIGN POLICY OF NATIONS

obtainable through the CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, Jakarta, Price US\$ 4.00
(including surface mail postage).

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